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THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 31

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Papers Presented to Alexander Fodor on His Seventieth Birthday

BY

HIS DISCIPLES

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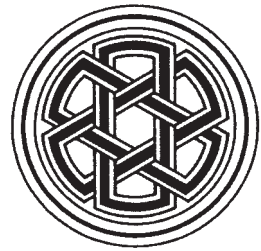
K. DÉVÉNYI



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KÉSZÜLT AZ MTA KÖNYV- ÉS FOLYÓIRATKIADÓ
BIZOTTSÁG TÁMOGATÁSÁVAL

اطلبوا العلم ولو في ... واحة سيوة

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PREFACE

Ten years ago an international colloquium was convened to celebrate the 60th birthday of Professor Sándor Fodor, or "Alexander" as he is known to his colleagues worldwide. The volume of its proceedings was published as volume 23 of *The Arabist*. The magic of decimal numeral system has produced an even more intriguing number: Alexander's 70th birthday. It seemed appropriate that this event be fêted in the "tightest family circle", with a collection of papers written by a small bunch from his many students whom he had taught in the last more than 40 years. The limits of the volume necessarily restricted the choice of studies, so only his current colleagues or doctoral students at his beloved Chair for Arabic Studies at Eötvös Loránd University were asked to contribute by the editor.

The variety of papers amply shows Alexander's openness to the many facets of the world of Islam, albeit his primary interest has driven him to the examination of the syncretism in the great monotheistic religions of the Middle East, and to the various manifestations of popular religion in Islam, having become one of its foremost authorities.

It is our duty to attach here an update on his bibliography, supplementing the one which appeared in his previous *Festschrift* (*The Arabist* 23).

We wish that this dedicated scholar could continue his research for many years to come together with successfully initiating future generations of young scholars (as professor emeritus) to the magical world of Islam.

The Editor

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A DRAWING BROUGHT TO LIFE
THE ṢŪFĪ BACKGROUND OF AN ALGERIAN JEWISH LEGEND

Dóra Zsom

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According to a legend which circulated among Algerian Jews even in the 19th century, at the time of the 1391 persecutions by the order of the "king of Spain", a group of Jews were imprisoned and sentenced to death. However, their rabbi saved them miraculously by drawing a boat on the wall of the prison, which by the power of the community's prayer was converted into a real boat. The prisoners boarded it, and sailed through the sea to the shore of the African coast.

The paper wishes to present a possible Ṣūfī background of this legend.

1. Algerian Jews of Iberian origin

The so-called Maghrebi Jews settled in North Africa since the Roman period, forming their peculiar tribes and communities there. From the time of the Almohad persecutions the influx of Iberian (Sephardi) Jews to North Africa increased gradually, reaching its peaks following the tragic events that afflicted Iberian Jews in the years 1391 and 1492 respectively. In 1391 due to disorder and riots in Castile, Andalusia and Aragon, Jewish communities were decimated, many of their members killed or forcibly baptized. Jews were leaving Iberia for North Africa *en masse*. They were not always welcomed by the native Maghrebi Jewish population, since their economic capacities and cultural heritage in most cases overshadowed that of Maghrebi Jews[1]. Iberian newcomers soon claimed political, economic and social supremacy. Their positions were reinforced definitively by the arrival of the Jews expulsed from the dominions of the Catholic Monarchs in 1492. With respect to the tribulations endured by Jews under Christian rule, life in Muslim lands must have been regarded in general satis-

[1] This widely accepted view (*e.g.*: *EJ s.v.* "Algeria"; Epstein 1968:11-12) is questioned by various scholars, see *e.g.* Hirschberg 1974:9-10, 13-14.

factory, albeit the vicissitudes narrated by some Jewish historians[2]. In any case, leading rabbinical authorities agreed that Iberian Jews suffering from the religious intolerance of Christians should immigrate to Muslim territories, where – according to the North African rabbis – they could practice Judaism freely[3]. The Algerian Jewish community had been continuously increasing till the years of the Algerian War (1954-1962), when almost the entire Jewish population of Algeria left mainly for France (some 70,000 persons), and – in a considerably lesser extent – for Israel[4].

Sephardi Jews living in Algeria or elsewhere never abandoned entirely their characteristic culture which distinguished them from Jews of other origin. Some of their peculiarities had gradually disappeared in the course of time, but Sephardi Jews preserved their romance language (ladino) for centuries besides adopting Arabic, and later on, French. They adhered to their social customs, legal system and religious rituals. Their ties with Iberia were loosened gradually, all the more so, since the edict of expulsion promulgated by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492 explicitly forbade the presence of Jews (if not baptized) in their kingdoms5. Consequently, even commercial relations decreased among Algerian Sephardi Jews and their former coreligionists remaining in Iberia. Thus "Spain" became a vague place of origin, the memory of which grew more and more indistinct and opaque.

2. A legend concerning the origin of Sephardi Jews in Algeria: the Jews' miraculous escape from the prison of the Spanish king

Isidore Epstein begins his book on the legal decisions *(responsa)* of Rabbi Shimeon ben Tsemah Duran by giving a detailed account of an Algerian Jewish legend as follows:

> "It is related that at the time when the persecutions began a certain rabbi was arrested, with a large number of other Jews, by order of the King of Spain; they were thrown into prison, and the order of execution was issued. The night preceding the day fixed for the execution was passed by the rabbi and his flock in prayer and supplications to be saved from the impending-doom. Suddenly, the rabbi took a piece of charcoal and sketched on the

[2] For a couple of these narrations see Hirschberg 1974:385-410.

[3] Cf. Ribash, *Responsa* nos. 4, 11; Tashbets, *Responsa* 1:63, 1:66, 3:47; Duran, *Yakhin* II, 31. These Rabbis themselves were Sephardi immigrants residing in Algeria, or the descendants of such immigrants.

[4] Cf. *EJ s.v.* "Algeria".

[5] Cf. the text of the edict in *Documentos* 391-395.

> wall of the dungeon the design of a boat. Then addressing his brethren in distress, he said: 'Let all who fear God and wish to quit this country place a finger on the boat as I do'. They all did so, and lo! the miraculous happened, the design became a real boat, began to move of its own accord, passed through the wall which enclosed it, glided through the streets of the town, made straight towards the sea, and began to sail, moving towards the African coast until it reached the port of Algiers. The refugees […] sent an embassy to the Algerian authorities asking for permission to land, and after an interview had taken place between the rabbi and Sydi b. Jusuf, a famous Marabout, the desired request was granted" (Epstein 1968:2-3).

Epstein states without any further argumentation that the central figure of the legend was none else but Rabbi Shimeon ben Tsemah Duran, notwithstanding the fact that this name as such was not mentioned by the first transmitter of the story, Claude-Antoine Rozet, who related the legend in his *Voyage dans la régence d'Alger,* which was published in 1833 in Paris. The name that appears in Rozet's narration is "Simon ben Smia", who is identified by the author as the "premier rabbin de Séville" (Rozet 1833: 211). Shimeon ben Tsemah Duran – as Epstein also admits – never lived in Seville. He was born in Mallorca in 1361 and he resided there till thirty years later, when due to the massive religious persecution that affected Iberian Jewry and which reached the island as well, he left Mallorca and settled in Algiers, where he became a leading rabbinical authority. Apart from the not entirely conclusive resemblance of the names Shimeon ben Tsemah and "Simon ben Smia" there are no further proofs that would corroborate the identity of the protagonist of the legend.

Epstein, when translating the French version of the story of the miraculous escape of the Jews omits some interesting details; among these we find that in Rozet's version Jews and Moors shared the lot of being arrested and sentenced to death, and that they escaped together. He fails to give details about the marabout figuring in the story, and contends himself with mentioning his name, although in Rozet's version the sheikh's place of residence is mentioned. The plausible identification of "Sydi-Ben-Youcef, Marabout fameux qui habitat Méliana" (Rozet 1833:212-213) with Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf who in fact was the most famous Ṣūfī sheikh residing in Miliana, presents further difficulties as to the interpretation of the story. For both Rozet and Epstein related the story of the miraculous escape and crossing as taking place in 1391 during the persecutions of the Jews in Iberia[6]. Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, however, was born sometimes in

[6] It should be noted that in the version narrated by Rozet the year 1390 appears, which might be due to the inaccuracy of oral transmission; or may result from the impreciseness of the conversion of the Jewish date to the Gregorian calendar. The first month of the Jewish calendar is Tishrei

the middle of the fifteenth century, and died in 1524, which means that he was active roughly a century later than the alleged date of the story. Since Jewish history is not short of persecutions, and the most fatal of these with respect to Sephardi Jews occurred in fact a century later, in 1492, one might suggest that the legend does not refer to the 1391 persecutions, but to the 1492 expulsion. That year was a turning point in Spanish history; the Granada war against the Nasrid dynasty was over, and thus the Reconquista completed. In the wake of the successful military campaign the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon decided to reinforce the unity of their subjects also in the religious sphere. Jews and Muslims were no longer welcomed in their kingdoms; in 1492 the Jews, ten years later the Muslims were given the choice of converting to Christianity or leaving the country. The descendants of the converted Muslims, the *moriscos* were finally forced to leave Spain in the first decades of the seventeenth century, while the descendants of converted Jews were allowed to stay – under the dreadful supervision of the Spanish National Inquisition.

However, I would not opt for this suggestion for two reasons; partly because the historical setting of the story, with respect to Jews at least, fits better 1391, when Jews were in fact detained and murdered, while in 1492 this was not the case; but mostly because it seems to be senseless to harmonize miraculous legends with historical facts forcedly. Several arguments could be brought in favour of both dating, but none of them can be agreed upon unquestionably. Apparently the vague and imprecise memory of various historical facts became combined in one story, the threads of which need not to be disjoined by all means.

Therefore it might be of greater interest to reveal the background of such a legend, and to find what can be learnt from it with regard to the relation of Jews and Muslims in Algiers.

3. A marabout tolerant towards Jews

The marabout mentioned in the story, Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf[7] (d. 1524), was the disciple of a famous Ṣūfī sheikh of the Šāḏilī Ṣūfī order, Aḥmad Zarrūq (1442-1493/94). There is a tradition which sheds light on the personality of Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf. When his master asked him about his purpose in life, he answered: "I wish I was made by God like the earth on which believers and unbelievers, righteous and evil, slaves and freemen, men and women equally tread on" (Der-

(September / October in terms of the Gregorian calendar). In consequence of this difference, the year in which the massive forced conversion took place, that is א"נק'ה (5151) corresponds to 1390/1391 of the Gregorian calendar.

[7] On his life and cult, see Dermenghem 1954:223-250.

menghem 1954:224). This answer reflects the unprejudiced and tolerant character of Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, who besides having become a spiritual leader of the circle of his disciples, also became a holy person popular among various groups of Algerian and Moroccan society. A sheikh revered as a saint usually pertains either to a rural or to an urban environment, operating thus either in a tribal context or among city-dwellers (Gellner 1963:71). Some widely-known saints are, however, equally popular in the city and in the country; Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf was one of these renowned personalities. He also had considerable political influence, which led to severe confrontations between him and the emir of Oran, who imprisoned the sheikh for a while. His political influence is reflected in the Jewish legend: He was the authority who permitted the settlement of the Jewish newcomers in Algeria. He is revered till this very day by Arabs and Berbers alike, his tomb in Miliana is visited not only by the city dwellers but by various nomad tribes in fixed periods of the year. Among these are tribes of even Gipsy origin whose attachment to popular beliefs is very marked and manifests itself in the extensive use of magical devices. Connection between Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf and Jews is well attested by a brief remark made by Ferdinand Ossendowski, the famous Polish traveller in his book on Morocco written in the twenties of the last century:

> "The Zkara, like the tribes of Mlaina and Ghouta, are known for their indifference to Islam and to the laws of the Koran. They recognize only the prophet Sidi Ahmed ben Yusuf of Miliana and his disciple, Omar ben Sliman, who was previously mentioned as a renegade Jew. They have their Marabouts from the family of Ben Yusuf, and the so-called "rusma" is the oldest hereditary priest" (Ossendowski 1926:98).

Thus, Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf was a popular and influential Ṣūfī sheikh who attracted adherents from non-Arab and non-Muslim groups as well. Apparently he did not refuse some of those controversial Ṣūfī practices which are not necessarily tolerated by main-stream Muslim religious authorities, like more extreme forms of *ḏikr,* that include music, ecstatic dance (even of men and women together), intoxication and repeating strange and unintelligible names of God. He was one of those sheikhs who did approve of *ḏikr* accompanied by music and dance, and ecstatic utterances; and who taught hidden names of God even to women (Dermenghem 1954: 224).

4. A Ṣūfī martyr appealing to Jews: al-Ḥallāǧ

One of the most famous representatives of the so-called ecstatic Ṣūfīsm was al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāǧ (857-922), who attained such a degree of mystical union with God that finally he was unable to differentiate between his own

self and that of God. This complete union led to his famous utterance "I am the Truth" (Truth being one of the names of God), which scandalized a great number of Muslims, but fascinated others. His extraordinary preaching and public activity were severely censured and rejected by the religious authorities, as a consequence he was arrested and kept in prison for nine years. In prison, for lack of other audience he continued to preach to the prisoners. Religious and political intrigues led to the execution of al-Ḥallāǧ, that took place in Baghdad while his supporters were raging and ravaging in the downtown of the city, setting fire on the shops of the market, and an enormous crowd was witnessing his long agony. His tongue was cut off and his body dismembered. It is related that when he expired,

> "From each one of his members came the declaration, 'I am the Truth'. Next day they declared, 'This scandal will be even greater than while he was alive'. So they burned his limbs. From his ashes came the cry, 'I am the Truth'. [...] Dumbfounded, they cast his ashes into the Tigris. As they floated on the surface of the water, they continued to cry, 'I am the Truth'" (Arberry 1966:271).

Thus al-Ḥallāǧ became the prototype of mystical martyr. His controversial figure does not cease to be widely known and popular among Muslims. Legends and traditions concerning his extraordinary life and death were collected in various anonymous compilations bearing titles like *Qiṣṣat al-Ḥallāǧ, Aḫbār al-Ḥallāǧ, as-Sīra aš-šaᶜbiyya li-l-Ḥallāǧ*.

The unique personality of al-Ḥallāǧ influenced and greatly inspired his environment, and made a lasting impression on Muslim culture. His influence, however, was not limited to Muslim culture but made his way into Jewish literacy as well. As Paul Fenton has demonstrated in his article (Fenton 2001), traditions concerning al-Ḥallāǧ were known among Jews from the eleventh till the seventeenth centuries. Most of the references collected by Fenton were found in fragments from the Cairo Genizah. A part of these fragments dealing with al-Ḥallāǧ was written in Arabic language but in Hebrew characters, indicating clearly that they were meant especially for a Jewish public. Some of the texts are fragments of well-known Ṣūfī works transcribed in Hebrew characters preserved in the Cairo Genizah, for example fragments of the famous *ar-Risāla al-Qušayriyya*, the *Lawāmiᶜ anwār al-qulūb* by Abū l-Maᶜālī ᶜAzīz aš-Šayḏala, the *Iḥyā' ᶜulūm ad-dīn* and the *Miškāt al-anwār* by al-Ġazālī (which survived also in two mediaeval Hebrew translations), and the *Kalimat at-taṣawwuf* by Šihāb ad-Dīn as-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl. A manuscript preserved in the British Library containing the *Kitāb at-tağalliyāt* by Ibn ᶜArabī copied in Hebrew characters in the beginning of the seventeenth century contains a passage treating al-Ḥallāǧ

as well. (Fenton 2001:113-119) Other references occur in genuine Jewish works as *Inkišāf al-asrār* by Yūsuf b. Aqnīn (12th cent, Spain, Ceuta), *al-Muršid ilā t-tafarrud* by Dawūd Maymūnī (c. 1335-1415), *Sirāğ al-ᶜuqūl* by Hoter ben Shlomo (known also as Manṣūr b. Sulaymān aḏ-Ḏamārī, Yemen, 15th cent.), etc. (Fenton 2001: 120-124). Apparently, al-Ḥallāğ was appealing to Jewish authors in the first place because of his ardent love towards God that blurred the limits between his identity and God's self. In consequence, al-Ḥallāğ was most attractive due to his mystical poems, two of which in particular attained popularity among Jewish writers.

A popular poem of al-Ḥallāğ beginning "*ra'aytu Rabbī bi-ᶜayn qalbī*" (al-Ḥallāğ, *Dīwān* 131-132) is preserved in Jewish sources in several versions, *e.g.* in a Genizah fragment from the collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary (ENA 2462.55), in Hebrew characters (Fenton 2001:107-108), and in the *Commentary to the Song of Songs* by Zekarya ha-Rofe (known also as Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān aḏ-Ḏamārī, Yemen, 15th cent.), in Hebrew characters (Fenton 2001:123-124). An English translation of the version that appears (this time, in Arabic characters) in the *Sirāğ al-ᶜuqūl* by Hoter ben Shlomo (Fenton 2001:122) is the following[8]:

I have seen the Lord through the eyes of my heart
He asked me: Who are you? I replied: You
You are the one who is everywhere
But nowhere you are known to be
Being here I am nowhere
Being nowhere I persist with You

Versions of the poem beginning "*anā man ahwā wa-man ahwā anā*" (al-Ḥallāğ, *Dīwān* 166) are preserved also in the Genizah, in the collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary (ENA 4195.195a), in Hebrew characters (Fenton 2001:116). It can also be found in a collection of Ṣūfī parables and sayings written in Arabic characters, in the collection of the Cambridge University Library (Taylor-Schechter Arabic 41.1)[9]. The poem is also quoted in *al-Muršid ilā t-tafarrud* by Dawūd Maymūnī (Fenton 2001:121). The versions in the last two texts are more or less identical with the one cited in the *Kitāb al-lumaᶜ,* which was translated by Michael A. Sells as follows[10]:

[8] In the author's translation. For the Arabic text and the French translation of the poem see Fenton 2001:122-123.

[9] I had the fortune to see the first four hemistichs of this poem in this Genizah fragment. Fenton does not mention it in his article.

[10] Sells 1996:218. For the Arabic versions and their French translation see Fenton 2001:116, 121.

"I am my beloved and my beloved is I
If you see me, you see us both
Two spirits in one flesh
clothed by Allah in a single body"

5. The origin of the Jewish legend: al-Ḥallāǧ's miraculous escape from prison

Muslim works treating the biography of al-Ḥallāǧ relate several miraculous stories about his imprisonment. These stories are in fact variations of one theme: The mystic's capacity of liberating himself from captivity. The stories have of course an allegorical interpretation as well; namely the flight of the soul from the prison of the body, the material word, or any physical or spiritual phenomena impeding it from attaching itself to God. One of these stories presents striking similarities to that of the miraculous salvation of the Sephardi Jews from the prison of the "Spanish king". It can be found in different versions in various compilations treating the biography of al-Ḥallāǧ, but its origin cannot clearly be traced back[11]. The story goes as follows:

"When Ḥusayn [b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāǧ] finished reciting his poem, he stood up and called to the evening prayer. Then he recited with the prisoners the last evening prayer and when he finished it, he sat down and repeated the name of God – may He be exalted – and the prisoners kept repeating the name of God together with him till the morning. Then he stood up and recited with them the morning prayer, and when he finished it, he got up and he drew a [circular]12 line on the prison's ground13. Then he elaborated it into a boat, he sat into its middle, and he said: 'My brethren, he who wants salvation for his soul, and rescue from the prison, let him come and sit together with me in this boat, the boat of salvation'. Hearing this, the prisoners got up and sat in the boat together with him. Then he got up and said to them: 'My brethren, move your boat by repeating the name of God, but you must repeat His name with true love! So let you say together with me with sincere devotion: There is no other god but God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God'. And when they rose, their voice repeating the name of God, all of a sudden the line [drawn to the ground of the prison] got into motion, and it was turned into a huge boat, and at once it was in the middle of the sea. Then he said to them: 'Let you persist in the repetition of the name of God!' With that

[11] *Qiṣṣa* (ed. Massignon) 294, (ed. ᶜAbd al- Fattāḥ) 84–85; *Sīra* 50–51.

[12] In the version transmitted by Massignon it is explicit that a circular line was converted into a boat: "He got up and drew a line on the prison's ground, in the shape of a boat, and he sat in its middle. Then he said: He who wants salvation, let him sit with me in the circle!" (Massignon, *Qiṣṣa* 294)

[13] In a manuscript and a printed edition consulted by as-Saḥḥ: "on the ground, by the wall of the prison". (Cf. *Sīra* 50, n. 2.)

he rose, and got out of the boat. He started to walk on the surface of the sea, and the boat was following him until he led her to the land. Then they disembarked and he said to them: 'Go wherever you wish!'" (*Sīra* 50-51).

I think that the parallel between the Jewish legend and the story of al-Ḥallāǧ is self evident. The common elements are the prison; the night; the rabbi / Ṣūfī sheikh offering salvation to the people; the line drawn to the wall / the ground; the drawing which materializes by the prayer of the people; the boat sailing in the open sea and finally reaching the land.

The motifs of sea, sailing, drowning and delivery are extensively used in Ṣūfī texts. The symbolism of these texts is not that obvious as it might appear at first view. The sea can symbolize both God and other-than-God, or the way towards God; while the boat can equally be a false or a true means of salvation14. In the Jewish version of the story, prison and boat, sea and land, sailing and salvation can be understood in a very literal way – just as many Muslims would not seek the allegorical sense of the Ṣūfī story, but would contend themselves with enjoying the plain meaning of the tale. As for this specific Ṣūfī story, its allegoric interpretation does not seem to be complicated; the prison from which salvation is sought symbolizes probably the obstacles that separate man from God; the sea appears to be life itself as a way towards God; and the boat of salvation is the mystical knowledge which can lead to the land, that is, the maximal proximity to God.

Certain visual elements of the Ṣūfī story might recall some aspects of *ḏikr*: During some methods of *ḏikr* people are standing in circle, surrounding the sheikh who controls and dominates the passion of the believers. They repeat God's name performing an ever accelerating movement by turning their heads and bodies to the left and to the right in a semi-circular motion, which is accompanied by their rhythmical, ever faster and louder expiration, till they achieve a state of ecstasy in which they "disappear", achieving the state of extinction *(fanā')* of their own self by annulling their consciousness separating them from God. This rhythmical, dynamic, physical movement that includes swaying, rolling and wavering inevitably recurs in the visualized motion of the circular line drawn by the sheikh: a circumference that gets into a wavering motion, attaining thus to three dimensions, and materializing in the form of a boat rolling in the sea.

Unfortunately I could not ascertain the first to put this legend down on paper. Riḍwān as-Saḥḥ (whose version I translated above) does not identify the source

[14] Cf. three divergent commentaries on the Station of the Sea from the *Kitāb al-mawāqif* by an-Niffarī, discussed and translated by Arberry and Nicholson (Arberry 1935:198-201).

of the legend[15]; ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ (whose version is almost identical with that of as-Saḥḥ) refers vaguely to the first volume of *Taḏkirat al-awliyā'* by Farīd ad-Dīn al-ᶜAṭṭār (first half of the 13th century)[16].

However, in the chapter about al-Ḥallāğ[17] this story cannot be found, although several traditions concerning the imprisonment of al-Ḥallāğ are related there, including stories about his miraculous power by which he could set prisoners free, vanish from prison, or make the prison itself disappear. (ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz 2006-2009: II, 234-235; Arberry 1966:267-268) A slightly different version from the one translated above was published by Louis Massignon (*Qiṣṣa* /ed. Massignon/ 294). The difference lays both in the form and the content of the story. In that version, part of the prisoners does not follow al-Ḥallāğ, but regards the whole attempt at flight as "madness". Moreover, that narration presents some features of rhymed prose, which makes probable that it was recited publicly by professional storytellers for a wide audience[18]. According to the statements of Massignon the story of al-Ḥallāğ (*Qiṣṣat Ḥusayn al-Ḥallāğ*) published by him (on the basis of five manuscripts dating from the 18th-20th centuries) in its present form had been constituted already in the 13th century[19]. The most important part of the story (including the significant variants from the versions quoted previously) is the following:

> "He did not cease to pray with them till midnight. In the agitation of his love, passion and ardour towards the Omniscient King, he lost his senses [*fa-ṯāra bihi l-waǧd*]. Then he started the *ḏikr* and they persisted in the *ḏikr* with him till the morning. When morning came, he got up and drew a line on the prison's ground, in the shape of a boat, and he sat in its middle. Then he said: 'He who wants salvation, let him sit with me in the circle!' Some sat with him there, but some refused. And these said: 'This guy must be out

[15] Riḍwān as-Saḥḥ compiled his edition of the biography of al-Ḥallāğ on the basis of two manuscripts and one printed edition. He did not date the manuscripts. The printed edition was published in 1939. Cf. *Sīra* 6, 23.

[16] For the imprecise reference see, *Qiṣṣa* (ed. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ) 23, for the story of the miraculous escape see *Qiṣṣa* (ed. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ) 84-85. The manuscript that ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ published was copied in 1785, see *Qiṣṣa* (ed. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ) 46.

[17] In the second volume, since al-Ḥallāğ is not mentioned in the first volume at all.

[18] For the recitation of the biography, miracles and poems of al-Ḥallāğ see Massignon 1982:341-353. For an abridged translation of the story in French see Massignon 1975: II, 475; for the English translation by Herbert Mason see Massignon 1982: II, 453. It has to be noted, however, that the text which Massignon translated was based on several manuscripts, and it is not evident exactly which one of these he took as his main source, and where and why did he depart from it. Consequently his translation in Massignon 1975 differs considerably from the Arabic text published in the *Qiṣṣa* edited by him. And thus the English translation of Herbert is different as well.

[19] See Massignon 1982:360; *Qiṣṣa* 287 (ed. Massignon).

of his mind [*hāḏā min fiᶜl al-maǧānīn*]!' Ḥusayn al-Ḥallāǧ said: 'Move the boat by means of the *ḏikr*!' […] And that line became a boat sailing in the middle of the sea. Ḥusayn al-Ḥallāǧ said: 'This is the boat of salvation, so persist in the *ḏikr* of God!'"[20]

6. Another adaptation of the legend: Maimonides's miraculous escape from prison

Apparently the story of al-Ḥallāǧ's miraculous escape gained popularity among North-African Jews to such an extent that it survived in different versions. Apart from the Algerian variation which seems to be an adaptation of the story published by as-Saḥḥ and ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, there is another Jewish variation that is likely to be an adaptation of the rhymed-prose version published by Massignon. The protagonist of this Judaeo-Arabic version is Moses Maimonides, the leading figure of mediaeval North-African Jewry. As it is widely known, Maimonides was born in Córdoba in 1135, but due to the religious intolerance of the Almohads was forced to leave Andalusia for Morocco, and finally he settled in Fusṭāṭ, where he acted as a physician to the Sultan. His codification of Jewish law is of unique importance. As such a leading and famous personage, he became the protagonist of several Jewish tales. Series of fables transmitted by Jews living in different Muslim countries narrate the biography of Maimonides. The cycle about the life of Maimonides survived in various divergent versions in a number of manuscripts. One of these, copied in Egypt in 1840, and published by Yitsḥaq Avishur[21] contains a story which presents certain similarities to al-Ḥallāǧ's escape in the rhymed prose narration. According to it, in consequence of a legal decision offensive to Muslims, Maimonides was detained and sentenced to be burnt at the stake. This mode of execution was not practiced by the Almohads, and in general, it is not included in the methods of carrying out capital punishment used by Muslims. A person whose body was burnt as part of his execution was al-Ḥallāǧ, but neither was he burnt alive. It was, however, a typical penalty imposed by the Spanish National Inquisition. Possibly as a consequence of inadequacy in collective memory different historical facts became combined in the tale: The flight of Maimonides from Andalusia (12th century), the stakes of the Inquisition in Spain (from the 15th century on), the execution of al-Ḥallāǧ (in the 10th century).

[20] In the author's translation. *Qiṣṣa* (ed. Massignon) 294.

[21] MS Paris 583, the series of fables narrating the life of Maimonides can be found on pp. 148-155 of the manuscript. Cf. Avishur 1998:53-74.

> "In prison he [Maimonides] folded a paper boat. The prison had a window looking on the sea. He took the paper boat, and threw it through the window to the sea. Then he said to the prisoners: "My brethren, is there anyone among you who comes with me?" But they laughed at him, and said to each other: "This miserable must be out of his mind [*hāḏā r-ragul miskīn itgannin*] that he says he will board a paper boat! He must have lost his senses [*ʿaqluhu nuqūs […] min waǧdihi*] now that he will be burnt soon!" Then he put out his legs through the window, one after the other, and with the help of God, he got out of the window through an opening so small that a man could hardly set forth his arm through it. The prisoners were dumbfounded. He embarked the boat saying to the prisoners: "I wish you all the best!" Then he shoved off the boat, and with the help of God he began to sail. He pronounced the Name of God, and in the twinkling of an eye he reached Egypt"[22].

Similarities and discrepancies are manifest among this Judaeo-Arabic variation and the rhymed prose version. I would like to call attention merely to some interesting parallels in the wording. First and foremost, one should note the term *waǧd* appearing in both texts. In the al-Ḥallāǧ-story it retains its primordial meaning in Ṣūfī terminology, that is: ecstasy, being in a state of unconsciousness: "In the agitation of his love, passion and ardour towards the Omniscient King he lost his senses [*fa-ṯāra bihi l-waǧd*]." In the Judaeo-Arabic version, however, the word *waǧd* is no longer a term. The other detail to be noted is the reaction of the prisoners refusing to follow al-Ḥallāǧ / Maimonides: Both versions use expressions containing the Arabic root *ǧnn* (to be mad, to be out of one's mind): *"hāḏā min fiʿl al-maǧānīn / hāḏā r-ragul miskīn itgannin"*.

7. A ḥizb called "boat of salvation"

The boat of salvation *(markab / safīnat an-naǧāt)* for a great number of Muslims is more than a literary symbol appearing in these Ṣūfī stories. It is the name of a litany (*ḥizb*) attributed to Aḥmad Zarrūq, that is, the master of the marabout Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, who – according to the Jewish narrative – permitted the settlement of the Sephardi Jews in Algiers[23]. The litanies are to be recited in pre-determined periods of the day, fulfilling special requirements like being in a state of purity, etc. They are generally attributed a quasi-magical power due to secrets and names contained in them. The uses and benefits of the litanies are frequently enumerated in the booklets containing them together with instruc-

[22] Avishur 1998:66-69 (the Judaeo-Arabic text and its Hebrew translation).

[23] For the text of the *ḥizb* and explications concerning its use, see Zarrūq, *Bisāṭ* 58-88.

tions concerning their recitations. The litany called the "boat of salvation" is destined to guard the believer against a wide range of impacts endangering him, and to secure good outcome and success in general. Since this *ḥizb* is attributed to the master of the marabout mentioned in the Sephardi legend, it is reasonable to suppose that the concept of "the boat of salvation" was current in the circle of Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf.

8. Conclusion

The parallels which I enumerated (on the one hand, the story of al-Ḥallāǧ's escape, which survived in two versions; and, on the other hand, the escape of the rabbi / Maimonides) suggest that North-African Jews in general, and Algerian Jews in particular were familiar with the legend of al-Ḥallāǧ's miraculous flight.

Given the popularity of al-Ḥallāǧ among Muslims and Jews alike, and the obvious similarities among the Ṣūfī and the Jewish stories, it might be suggested that the Algerian Jews made use of this popular story adapting it to their conditions, changing the main character, the setting and the purpose, but conserving the motifs and adding a hint to the Ṣūfī background of the story by completing it with a more elaborate happy ending featuring Sīdī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, the tolerant marabout permitting the settlement of the Jews.

The story can be instructive as to the relations of Jews and Muslims in Algeria. The fact that in this Jewish myth of origin Moors are included as sharing the Jews' lot, and the positive role the marabout played in the outcome of the events point toward a major degree of tolerance among Jews and Muslims. If the Jewish story is indeed an adoption of the Ṣūfī legend, it indicates the acculturation of the Jews to their Muslim environment, manifesting itself in the assimilation, borrowing of concepts and the internalization of popular narratives and motifs current among their Muslim neighbours.

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Calligraphic panel in the form of a boat with the following text:

أعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اللهم يا مفتح الأبواب افتح لنا خير الباب

IDENTITY AND GENEALOGY
THE CASE OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN

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One of the most momentous developments in African history is the gradual process through which the northern and central zones of the present-day Sudan and Chad were transformed from being an integral part of Sub-Saharan Africa into becoming an integral part of the Arab world, if only in a cultural sense. The result is that the Sudan (and partly Chad) is thought and spoken of as an 'Arab country' both on a popular level and in political and journalistic discourse[1]. To be sure, this does not imply that the Sudan should no more be regarded as part of Sub-Saharan Africa, but the fact of a double identity – African and Arab at the same time – is far too manifest to be denied. The process that led to this situation is noteworthy for more than one reason. On the one hand, the transformation has taken place within a remarkably short period, a matter of a few centuries (since, apart from a few isolated places, Arabisation only began in the late 15th century); and on the other hand, it is all too obvious that much more was involved than simple ethnic intermarriage. The somatic features and general appearance of present-day northern Sudanese 'Arabs' clearly show that Arab immigrants must have been just a tiny numerical minority in comparison to the autochtonous black African population[2]. That being so, the origin of the

[1] Henceforward I am going to use the term Sudan in reference to the area of the Republic of Sudan, rather than in the sense of the mediaeval Arab geographers' *Bilād as-Sūdān*, 'the land of the Blacks', which roughly corresponds to the whole Sahelian and Sudanese belts of Western, Central and Northeastern Africa. Of great importance to the history of the Sudan in the narrower sense, the process of Arabisation is largely irrelevant for the history of west and central Africa.

[2] As William C. Young notes in his anthropological study of the *Rašāyda* (relatively recent Arab immigrants to the eastern deserts of Sudan who look strikingly unlike the rest of the Sudanese population): "On the average, northern Sudanese resemble black Americans". Later he specifies that "[t]he overwhelming majority of Sudanese citizens have African features". See Young 2002:108. These observations are as true of Arabic-speaking Sudanese as of those speaking other languages.

present situation cannot be taken as a matter of course; such a fundamental change of culture – the wholesale adoption of an Arab identity – by a population that meanwhile remained the same in its basic ethnic features calls for some explanation that goes beyond the usual dry statement that intermixing and intermarriage with the Arab immigrants has resulted in assimilation and a change of cultural orientation. Why so? And, to begin with, how was it possible given the negligible numerical strength that the Arab immigrants represented vis-à-vis the original African population?[3]

Parochial though the issue may appear to be, it is not so, since the assimilating potential of Arab culture has proven itself remarkably vigorous in quite a few other regions and other historical periods as well. What to make of this vigour then? What are the factors that contribute to the attraction and the adaptability of Arab culture in so many different societies? This is the issue that I will seek to address, using the case of the Sudan to find certain social and historical factors that may be relevant to other cases of local populations adopting the Arabic language, Arab culture, and an Arab identity. I remind the reader of such historical examples of the assimilating force of Arab culture and ethnicity as the Arabisation of the mediaeval *Nabaṭ* (Semitic but not Arabic-speaking) population of the Fertile Crescent after the Arab conquests, the Egyptian population in the same centuries, the Berbers of North Africa and the Sahara from the 11th or 12th centuries onwards, and so on. The process of 'becoming Arab' – that is to say the development of an Arab identity – is not complete even today in several regions, including the Sudan.

It is precisely in such regions that one can observe, as in a laboratory, many of the factors that shaped the assimilation process. Apart from its own intrinsic interest, the case of the Sudan can thus serve as a particularly appropriate illustration of the abandonment and disappearance of older ethnic identities and the adoption of a new one. In a significant part of the area one can only observe the end result of the process; however, there remain regions that offer striking contemporary examples of the process of Arabisation while it is taking

[3] In his book on Sudanese Islam, Trimingham estimates the proportion of the Arabic-speaking immigrants within the whole Sudanese population at a maximum of 5 to 10 percent – and this at the peak of the Arab immigration into the Sudan. He adds that Arabic / Semitic somatic features account for one to two percent, at most, of the physical appearance of the Sudanese population. The great Arabic-speaking *Ǧaᶜaliyyīn* subtribes of Kordofān province (e.g. the *Ǧawābra*, *Bidayriyya*, *Ǧamūᶜiyya*, *Ǧimiᶜ*, *Ǧawāmᶜa*, *Dawālīb*, *Šuwayḥāt*, *Ġōdiyāt*, etc.) are distinctly unlike Arabs in their appearance. While the cattle-raising Arab nomads of Kordofān, Dārfūr and Chad (*baggāra*) have heavily Negroid features, the supposedly 'purer' Arab camel nomads of the Saharan fringes (e.g. the *Kabābīš*, *Kawāhla*) are also more Hamitic than Semitic, not to speak of their black African ancestry. See Trimingham 1949:17, 25, 30.

place. This has special importance because in matters of descent and origins the available historical sources tend to obfuscate, rather than clarify, the factors and processes involved. The reason is that the primary goal of the numerous Sudanese genealogies, Ṣūfī hagiographies, tribal chronicles, oral traditions of origin and similar internal sources is precisely to mask past processes of assimilation into Arab ethnicity and to emphasise – one might prefer to say forge – genuine Arab origins. Such documents therefore cannot be relied on as sources of factual information on the issue of Arabisation, even though they are definitely very interesting from other points of view and can in fact prove helpful, if handled with sufficient caution, for our present discussion as well. The accounts of most outsiders – such as Arab historians and geographers and European travellers and explorers – are also problematic in that they tend to repeat without criticism all kinds of old and often fictitious information, accept local informants' claims without further investigation, and record conditions at a given historical moment without providing data on the processes of change taking place. Again, taking these problems into consideration one can of course cautiously utilise such sources as well. Be that as it may, the most reliable and helpful way of studying the phenomenon of a newly emerging Arab identity is to observe it where it is taking place *now*, before our eyes as it were, despite the possibility of false back-projections. Among the various regions in which such a phenomenon can be observed[4] the most convenient one to observe is the Nuba Mountains area of southern Kordofān province: on the one hand, there is quite a number of sources that address the phenomenon of conversion and ethnic identity change in this place, and on the other hand this area offers the advantage of various phases of Arabisation coexisting almost literally side by side, running the whole range of possibilities from non-Muslim and non-Arab groups to Muslims with a full Arab identity, and all shades in between. This essay will, then, focus on the population of the Nuba Mountains, but the reader should keep in mind that the tendencies and processes described here are likely to parallel closely those that took place – in various historical periods, beginning in the late 16th century – in other areas of the Sudan and Chad.

The first thing to clarify is what one means by the term 'Arabisation' and the more general concept of 'ethnic identity change', both terms being almost unhelpfully general and vague. It seems to be beyond doubt that in most cases the emergence of a new ethnic identity is a sort of continuum instead of an abrupt change; in other words, 'non-Arab' tends to become 'Arab' gradually, whether the process requires several generations' time or just one generation. Various

[4] E.g. Dārfūr, the hilly areas of the upper Blue Nile (*Dār Funǧ*), the eastern desert areas and Nubia, parts of Baḥr al-Ġazāl province in southern Dudan, etc.

typical phases within the process can be distinguished, among which only the first one appears to represent an abrupt, sudden cultural change, whereas each of the further phases can be reasonably conceived as a gradual process in itself. However, on further reflection one can appreciate that even the first step, religious conversion, typically involves more than a simple profession of a new faith and may thus be a quite lengthy sequence of partial cultural adaptation.

Total assimilation and identity change in the Sudan tends to proceed through the following stages:

1. Conversion to Islam
As elsewhere in the Muslim world, this does not presuppose Arabisation at all, as the cases of such profoundly Islamised ethnic groups as the Beǧa, the Nubian groups (Barābra, Maḥas, Danāgla) and the non-Arab ethnicities of Dārfūr attest. However, it seems to be the first and most important step towards Arabisation – a necessary but not sufficient condition thereof. Conversion to Islam goes hand-in-hand with a number of other religious developments, such as the phenomena of Islamic popular religion (e.g. cults of holy men) and Ṣūfism, as well as the adoption of certain patterns of Islamic magic (e.g. holy 'Qur'ānic water', written charms, etc.).

2. Adoption of elements of Arab material culture
In the Sudanese context, this was not always and necessarily a one-way process: Arab immigrants would also often adopt superior elements of local material culture (architectural styles, cuisine, everyday objects, instruments and utensils, etc.).

3. Adoption of the Arabic language
It is important to note that this is a gradual process too. Arabic tends to be used in the beginning only as a lingua franca, to facilitate communication between different ethnic groups, then the use of local languages is increasingly restricted to the family home and finally discontinues there as well. Linguistic assimilation is closely linked to the next – fourth – factor; linguistic change may indeed require a parallel societal development along the lines described below.

4. Adoption of an Arab tribal structure
This transformation involves the dissolution or forceful destruction of traditional kinship structures and social relations as well as the collapse of previous local states. The result is either the formation of totally new tribal groupings (which will typically have an Arab identity) or attachment to, or merger into, the

newly arrived, numerically small but politically dominant Arab tribes (through assimilation, patron-client relations, slavery, intermarriage, etc.).

5. *Manufacture of genealogical documents and Arab family pedigrees* through various conventional methods of genealogical forgery. In many instances this phase may be conceptualised as the 'scholarly' substantiation of the newly adopted identity, an after-the-fact rationalisation (or obfuscation) of the completed process of assimilation by means of a typically Arabic cultural discourse, that of *ʿilm al-ansāb* (the knowledge/discipline of genealogies). However, it is important to note that the stage of genealogical fabrications and forgeries would often precede, rather than follow, some of the previous steps. A group would not need to be Arabic-speaking to claim Arab genealogies, as countless examples from Africa and elsewhere attest. Pertinent cases from Sub-Saharan Africa include the Swahili of East Africa, as well as Danāgla and Maḥas Nubians of the Nile valley around and south of the Egypt-Sudan border. Specifically within the Nuba Mountains, however, the forging of Arab genealogies does seem to take place as the final step in assimilation into an Arab ethnic identity.

The extensive ranges and isolated peaks of the Nuba Mountains are located in the southernmost part of Kordofān Province, due south of the provincial capital al-Ubayyiḍ (El Obeid). These mountains rise sharply from the savannah plains of Kordofān and form a formidable natural redoubt of high ranges and boulder-strewn hilly areas. Receiving somewhat more abundant precipitation than the lightly wooded savannah lands of the plains, they have a marginally lusher vegetation. The plains have for centuries been dominated by Arabic-speaking tribes of cattle nomads whose migrations are determined by the seasons (more precisely, a more or less predictable succession of rainy and dry seasons). These tribes are collectively known as the *baggāra*, a term derived from the dialectal Arabic *bagar*, 'cattle'. The *baggāra* occupy the whole wet savannah zone from northeastern Nigeria to the Nile, with the most important – because most numerous – *baggāra* tribes of the Nuba Mountains region being the *Missīriyya*, the *Ḥumr* (around al-Muglad), the *Kināna*, the *Ḥawāzma* (around the eastern mountain ranges), the *Awlād Ḥimayd* (in the southeast), and so on. These nomadic tribes are Arabic-speaking but their physical appearance is as a rule practically identical to that of the Nuba population of the hills and mountains. The term Nuba (Arabic *Nūba*, an ethnic appellation also applied to the Nubians of the Nile valley) is a collective label describing a population of extremely varied origins[5]. Every Nuba group (that is to say the inhabitants of every hill or even

[5] Sudanese Arabs use the term *Nūba* in reference to the Muslim Nubians living around Aswān (Egypt) and south of the border, while Egyptians often refer to this Nubian-speaking population

a smaller area within a mountain range) tends to speak its own language. The languages of the Nuba have been classified as falling in three larger language families: 1. Hill Nubian (these being languages related to the dialects of the Nilotic Nubians); 2. Sudanic Languages; and 3. Prefix Languages (these being languages that show marked grammatical similarities with the Bantu languages and which are sometimes described as Bantoid)[6]. This situation of extreme linguistic diversity offers a clue as to the varied origins of the individual Nuba groups; many of these ethnicities were originally immigrants from afar to their present land, and having settled there, they have preserved their distinct ethnic identities, traditions of origin and languages[7]. The mountain people known collectively as the Nuba are thus an amalgam of over fifty small different ethnic groups whose cultures are extremely diverse despite the presence of shared cultural features. Even the physical appearance of neighbouring yet unrelated Nuba communities may differ considerably. An example is the two strikingly dissimilar subgroups comprising the population of the Masākīn mountain range, the names of which give a clear indication of the obvious physical difference between them: *Masākīn Guṣār* ('Short Poor Men') and *Masākīn Ṭuwāl* ('Tall

as *Barābra*. The population that these umbrella terms denote include such groups as the Maḥas, Danāgla, Kenūz, Sukkōt, etc. Arabic-speaking Sudanese often use such general terms to refer to a variety of non-Arab ethnicities; for instance, small Muslim ethnic groups of the Gezira and southern Blue Nile region would often be called *Hamağ*, while non-Arabic languages of the Sudan are commonly referred to as *raṭāna*, 'unintelligible talk, gibberish'.

[6] This division is based on Meinhof"s classification. Following are some examples of each linguistic group (corresponding to Meinhof's system but taking note of some corrections proposed by Stevenson): 1. Hill Nubian: Dair, Dilling, Dulman, Garko, Ġulfān, Kaderu, Koldāği; 2. Sudanese: Nyimang, Afitti, Dāğo, Temein, Katla; 3. Prefix: Kadugli, Kawālīb, Krongo, Miri, Elīri, Otoro (Kawārma), Kanderma, Tira, Tegali. For his part, Stevenson prefers to use a five-fold division of the languages of the Kordofān Nuba: 1. Bantoid noun class languages (using alliterating prefixes): Kawālīb, Heiban, Šwai, Moro, Laro, Tira, Fungor, Otoro, Talodi, Masākīn, Elīri, Lafofa, Tegali, Tumale, Moreb, Rašād, Kağākğa, Tagoi; 2. non-Bantoid noun class languages: Tullishi, Keiga, Kanga, Miri, Kadugli, Kacha, Tumma, Krongo, Tumtum, Kamdang; 3. classless (Sudanese) languages: Nyimang, Afitti, Temein, Keiga-Jirru, Katla, Tima; 4. Dāğo languages (spoken by Muslim immigrants mainly originating in Dārfūr): Dāğo, Šatt (Arabic 'scatterings'), Liguri; 5. Nubian: Dair, Kaderu, Ġulfān, Ḥuğayrāt (Arabic 'small hills'), Dilling, Karko, Wali. As can be observed from the list, names of languages are typically derived from those of hills and mountains, and are not infrequently Arabic words. See Stevenson 1956-7:78, 97-114.

[7] For example, the Dāğo people arrived here from the west, more specifically from Dār Sila and southern Dārfūr, while the Dāğo subgroup called Šatt came from the region of Malakal on the Nile. The original homeland of the Nyimang is northern Kordofān, that of the Dilling is Ġōdiyāt (Ğabal al-ᶜAyn), while the Kaderu group traces its descent back to the territory of the Funğ Empire (near the confluence of the White and Blue Nile to the east). There is evidence showing that the Tira and the Moro had always lived in southern Kordofān near their present land, but they used to inhabit the plains in lieu of the mountains. See Nadel 1947:1, 5-6.

Poor Men')[8]. Today it is a widely accepted view that the Nuba largely represent remnants of the unassimilated autochtonous population of Kordofān[9] who, after the Arab nomadic immigration into the region, took refuge in the relative safety of the mountains and, driven by their all-too-reasonable fear of the warlike nomads, built their new settlements in the most inaccessible parts of the area. This means that the rest of Kordofān province is inhabited by people who are closely related to these Nuba refugees but who converted to Islam long ago and most of whom exchanged their original languages for Arabic and their original tribal background for an Arab tribal identity. In the greater part of Kordofān this process took place during the 16th and 17th centuries but in a few isolated mountain ranges of northern Kordofān (e.g. Ǧabal Ḥarāza, Ǧabal Katūl, Ǧabal Abū Ḥadīd, Ǧabal Umm Durrāg, Ǧabal Kāga) the conversion of the Nuba population to Islam and the development of an Arab identity took longer and was not complete before the end of the 18th century[10]. (Incidentally, here the impact of the Arabised Nubians of the *Danāgla* ethnic group, immigrants from Dongola town on the Nile, was more decisive than that of genuine nomadic Arabs.) Today Arab identity is omnipresent in those regions and the only 'authentic' autochtonous groups of Kordofān to preserve their original culture to a large degree live in the Nuba Mountains of southern Kordofān. The endurance of indigenous cultures in these remote mountain ranges of all places is hardly surprising, since it is precisely the remoteness and inaccessibility of the place that made these refugee communities to choose it as their homeland, and their main motive was the desire to avoid social dislocation, Arabisation (and possibly enslavement too)[11].

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[8] See Nadel 1947:267.

[9] The ancestors of the Muslim 'black' (read non-Arabic-speaking) indigenous population of Dārfūr were also a heterogeneous collection of peoples similar to the Nuba. Mediaeval Arab authors referred to all these autochtonous peoples by various general ethnic labels instead of precise ethnic names. Mediaeval geographers would use the term *Tukna* in speaking of the savannah peoples of the Sudan who went naked (as the Nuba did up to relatively recent times). In addition to *Nūba*, one also occasionally finds the (somewhat pejorative) appellations *ᶜAnaǧ* and *Hamaǧ* in reference to the autochtonous populations. See for instance Yāqūt, *Buldān* IV, 820; Seligman and Seligman 1932:366, 448.

[10] These people are called the Dawālīb Nuba; see Trimingham 1949:245; Seligman and Seligman 1932:366.

[11] There are no perfectly reliable statistics on the number of the Nuba at present owing to the catastrophic impact of civil war in the Sudan, as well as the effects of outmigration and ethnic identity change. While the rate of the natural increase of the population, as in much of Africa, is high among both Nuba and Arabs, intermarriage with Arabs and other Sudanese Muslims and assimilation must have reduced the ratio of Nuba. In the forties and fifties of the twentieth century the number of 'pure' Nuba was estimated varyingly at 300,000 (Stevenson 1956-7:77; Nadel 1947:1) and 250,000 (Murdock 1959:164).

The Nuba Mountains are an integral part of northern Sudan in spite of the continuing existence of small pockets of animists (and since the colonial period a small number of Christians too) among the mountain population, as the Muslim population of the plains – composed of Arabic-speaking *baggāra* nomads, Muslim Nuba and Muslim immigrants from West Africa known as Fellāta – at least equals that of the mountains, itself divided between a growing Muslim majority and a non-Muslim minority. In the towns of the region, such as Dilling, Talodi, Kadugli and Rašād, the overwhelming majority is Muslim and speaks Arabic either as a mother-tongue or as a convenient second language.

As noted above, virtually all gradations between indigenous identities and Arab identity can be found in the Nuba Mountains region, not only as differences between one community and the next but also within communities. There are certain groups of mountain Nuba who have traversed all the five stages described above and have now come to sport elaborate family and lineage pedigrees (*šağarat nasab*) in Arabic and on that basis claim an Arab identity and divide themselves into tribes and lineages with Arabic names. At the other extreme, there are hills only superficially influenced by Islam - let alone any claims of Arab identity – where Muslims are only a minority. And there are many communities somewhere between these two extremes, showing some but not all signs of cultural assimilation. The tendency is towards the adoption of Islam and perhaps Arab identity as well, although increasing ethnic consciousness and pride among the Nuba means that Islamisation no longer has to involve Arabisation too. In the following paragraphs various stages of Arabisation will be illustrated with concrete examples.

The political turmoil of the recent decades (which included civil war, incidents of ethnic cleansing, mass dislocation of Nuba and human rights abuses by both government troops and rebel groups) makes the present situation very hard to assess. The Nuba Mountains have been the scene of actual war as well as the focus of propaganda wars. The Sudanese governments have of course sought to paint a rosy picture and deny ethnic discrimination, and there is no reason to suppose that sources hostile to the Sudanese fundamentalist government (especially American government sources and US-based Christian NGOs) are above distorting the facts as befits their interests. Since this essay is concerned with historical processes rather than contemporary politics, it seemed reasonable to base the analysis on sources that appeared prior to the 1970s. Thus most of the following observations can be safely considered to be valid for that period but are not necessarily applicable to the present situation. As a general rule, however, one may say that Arabisation and especially Islamisation are pervasive tendencies of growing importance in the whole Nuba Mountains region.

A perceptive observation by Sanderson describing ethnic boundaries in the Nuba Mountains since the arrival of Arabic-speaking immigrants centuries ago serves as a good starting-point for our discussion. She characterises that boundary in terms of a kind of vague and permeable contour instead of a proper delineation (Sanderson 1963:243). However, this contour seems to have been far more sharply defined in certain Nuba communities than in others, whereas in a number of Nuba groups it has all but disappeared, allowing for total assimilation. I will begin my survey with the communities least touched by the influence of Arabic culture and Islam, these communities having the least relevance for our present discussion.

Such staunchly conservative communities in the 1940s and 1950s included the people inhabiting the Krongo, Masākīn, Moro and Tulliši ranges. At the beginning of the 40s the inhabitants of these mountains still went naked or very scantily dressed, and intermarriage with either Arabs or other Nuba communities was rare and frowned upon. Arabs of the Missīriyya tribe and Nuba of the Tulliši range used to fight each other almost permanently, and this traditional hostility later continued in a different form: the herds of the Arab nomads would often trample over the fields of the Nuba, Arab farmers would occasionally use force to take the fertile lands of the Nuba and silence the Nubas' complaints with physical force including brutal beatings. It is safe to assume that such an atmosphere of exploitation and unmitigated hostility is barely conducive to ethnic mixing and assimilation. And yet, from the forties onwards many features of Arab culture have been increasingly fashionable among these Nuba communities, even the Tulliši. For instance, they would give their children Arabic names and eagerly buy Islamic amulets and charms sold by Arabic-speaking, Muslim itinerant peddlers. Arab influence was therefore palpable even in these remote and highly conservative Nuba communities (Stevenson 1966:212; Nadel 1947:322, 487).

In the period that constitutes the focus of this study the vast majority of Nuba communities belonged to an intermediate category between the aforementioned two extremes. Here some degree of cultural Arabisation – especially a partial adoption of the rudiments of the Islamic religion – had taken place, yet these communities did make a clear distinction between themselves and the Arabs, with the majority being still pagan and highly selective in their adoption of certain elements from the folklore and the material culture of the Arabs. Of the five stages of assimilation specified above, these Nuba communities were characterised by the first three at most, i.e. the initial phase of linguistic assimilation where part of the population – in particular the men – do speak a (perhaps simplified) version of Arabic as a *lingua franca* but they never do so within the community, and there remain many who do not speak any Arabic at all. (None-

theless, the use of Arabic personal names became fashionable and ever more widespread from the 40s onwards.) The Arabs' material culture influenced all these communities to some extent, although in several fields – for instance the architecture of their houses and household objects – the Nuba were quite aware of the superiority of their own material culture and accordingly unwilling to adopt the far inferior techniques of the *baggāra* Arabs. Conversely, ironworking techniques being rudimentary among the Nuba, Arab blacksmiths often settled in Nuba communities and brought their more developed technology with them. Likewise weaving and the production of textiles were primitive among the Nuba, which made them borrow these products and the techniques associated with them from the neighbouring Dāǧo, a people having a higher level of proficiency in this field. The twentieth century saw the rapid spread of the custom of wearing clothes in the Nuba Mountains; thus for instance the Dilling and Kaderu groups – people of both sexes – went dressed in the usual north Sudanese Arab style by the 1940s, and it was only at the religious rites of the old pagan religion that women would revert to the traditional garb, or more precisely the lack of one. The influence of the Islamic religion (stage one) was considerable in all Nuba settlements belonging to this category: even though converts to Islam were still a minority[12], Muslim beliefs and legends, and especially Islamic magic and amulets, were a daily presence in the lives of the Nuba. A particularly obvious sign of the impact of Islam was the abandonment by many Nuba communities (e.g. the Dilling, Krongo and Tira groups) of their pig herds and the consumption of pork, despite its previous importance in the diet of the Nuba. This development was facilitated by the circumstance that various dietary taboos were common in Nuba cultures, and therefore the imported Islamic prohibition was easily 'translated' into concepts familiar to the Nuba and absorbed into local culture. On the other hand, attachment of local lineages to Arab tribes – let alone the adoption of a new, Arab-style tribal structure – was rare, as was intermarriage with Arabs[13]. Genealogical fabrications along the lines common among the Arabised population were virtually unknown in these communities[14].

The communities that had advanced farthest along the path of Arabisation included, first and foremost, Tegali (Arabic: Taqalī), as well as Rašād, Kamdang, Šeybun, Miri, Elīri, Tira Mande, Koldāği and Abū Hāšim, and the Dāǧo ethnic group. To the same category tend to belong the inhabitants of villages built at

[12] The first converts were typically men who had temporarily left their local community and later returned: soldiers, members of the colonial police force, former slaves, servants, etc.

[13] This despite the usually cordial relationship between the Arab nomads and the Nuba population of the more northerly mountain ranges such as Dilling, Kaderu and Nyimang.

[14] For a summary of cultural and social changes in this *milieu* see Nadel 1947:60, 70, 483-485.

the foothills of the mountains and populated by former slaves; these people usually identify as Arabs and consider themselves members of the particular Arab tribes whose slaves their forbears used to be. The vast majority of these Nuba communities are Muslim; many elements of Arab material culture are a natural part of their daily life; and the Arabic language is used on a daily basis among them, with the use of indigenous Nuba languages continuing to some extent but gradually losing ground. The Nuba people who belong to these communities maintain regular contacts with the Arabic-speaking *baggāra*, intermarriage between the two categories has a long history, and in certain groups even fabricated Arab genealogies, designed to emphasise Arab descent and membership of particular Arab tribes, have appeared to complete the long process of assimilation. The most important such group of Muslim and gradually Arabising Nuba is the Tegali. Continuing to exist since about the 17th century up to colonisation, the Islamic state of Tegali was probably the most powerful nucleus of Islamisation and Arabic cultural influences within the Nuba Mountains. As a result of that history, the population of Tegali is often spoken of as not being Nuba in the proper sense, although it is evident that they were originally a typical Nuba group speaking a typical representative of the category of prefix languages. (However, the widespread use of the Arabic language has now altered that linguistic situation.) Two short passages that follow illustrate the process of Arabisation among the Tegali Nuba; the first one is from the 1940s and the second from the late 60s:

> "In some of the eastern hills, Tagalle [i.e. Tegali] for example, the people have been Mohammadan for a generation or two, they wear clothes, they speak a god deal of Arabic and some of them pretend to Arab pedigrees, they have given up keeping pigs, they talk with contempt of the 'Naked Nuba'. Such Mohammadan culture as they have adopted, circumcision and wedding rites, the practice of infibulation and so forth, comes from the riverain tribes or from the Kināna and Kawāḥla settled in ther midst, not, curious as it may seem, from the Baggāra tribes with whom they have been in much longer contact. The Arab tribes accept them as Mohammadans and brothers while smiling at their pretensions, and I have heard a Kaḥli at Kollogi describe the inhabitants of a neighbouring hill as 'Nūba who have become Kawāḥla'. In reality, these eastern Nūba are beginning the same metamorphosis which most of our Arabs' African ancestors began a few centuries ago, and the change, which is not complete in the latter case yet, has not gone very far with the Nūba"[15].

[15] The words of J. W. Crowfoot cited in Trimingham 1949:83.

> "Today the people of Tegali do not like to think of themselves as 'Nuba' – 'we are Tegali' they say; their nearest neighbours, the Koalib [i.e. Kawālīb], are 'Nuba' and different" (Stevenson 1966:215).

Similar to the case of Tegali, the Nuba community of Tira Mande is another good example of the changes brought about by cultural Arabisation, even though the process has not advanced as far here as in Tegali. Nevertheless, here too the local population has long ceased to keep pigs, speak good Arabic, believe in one single God whom they customarily call Allāh, have borrowed Arab funerary rites and the custom of male and female circumcision[16]. On the other hand, the old kinship system with its clan-specific dietary taboos and similar features was still intact in the 1950s (Nadel 1947:196-7).

The Nuba community of Šeybun illustrates the process of the gradual displacement of the Nuba tribal system by a new one based on Arab tribes, a development that goes parallel with intermarriage with outsiders settling here. A group of Nubian (*Danāgla*) traders settled in Šeybun in the eighteenth century to exploit the gold mines of nearby Tira. Intermarriage between the Nubians and the local Nuba inhabitants has given rise to the ethnic group called *Šawābna* (people of Šeybun), which in its turn has exercised an influence over the Nuba population of several other mountain ranges as well (Stevenson 1966:210-211). Remarkable is the typically Arabic form of the new ethnic name, *Šawābna* – derived from the toponym Šeybun – that may well provide the basis of later genealogical forgeries trying to trace the name back to some ancestor figure. Such a development would certainly not be unique in the Sudan, witness the numerous Arabic-sounding ethnic labels derived from local toponyms, such as *Danāgla* (in Dongola and elsewhere) and *Dawālīb* in northern Kordofān – this last ethnic appellation already having an Arabic genealogy-based folk etymology.

The above examples may well be seen as representing the last stage of Arabisation, yet this view would lose sight of an even more advanced stage of such assimilation that can be observed within the area of the Nuba Mountains. I am referring to the *baggāra* Arab nomads and the Arabic-speaking peasant population of southern (and indeed northern) Kordofān, who closely resemble the Nuba in everything but their language and culture, and whom it is justified to regard largely as Arabised descendants of peoples similar to the present-day

[16] The latter is referred to in Arabic as *ṭahāra firʿawniyya* ('pharaonic circumcision'), and as the very name suggests, the custom is likely to be of Hamitic origin. Islamic law disapproves of the more drastic version customary in the Sudan, yet despite this fact it is a widely held misconception (both in the Sudan and in Europe) that the custom is an Islamic tradition. Accordingly, locally it is often as a result of conversion to Islam that the custom is adopted by indigenous communities.

Nuba. Of course, these Arabic-speaking tribes, whether nomadic or sedentary, fully display all the five elements of assimilation in their culture: they are Muslim, have a material culture similar to that of other Arabic speakers (especially of the Nilotic Sudan), speak Arabic, are divided into tribes and lineages having Arabic names, and pride themselves on having intricate genealogies showing their putative Arab descent. Yet, despite all those signs of Arab identity, there are *baggāra* groups that can be said to be of practically pure Nuba stock, such as the *Awlād Ḥimayd* and *Ḥawāzma baggāra* nomads and the 'Arab' farmers inhabiting the foothills of many mountain ranges. It is surely these groups that represent the final stage of the assimilation process.

This takes us back to the initial question raised at the beginning of this essay: what forces and factors cause a group of peoples heterogeneous in origin but equally deeply conservative and tradition-bound to abandon, if gradually, constituent elements of their original identity and become part of a new people and a new culture? It is obvious that a combination of various factors must have been at play. In the following paragraphs I will survey a number of such factors. Here the order of the items on the list is quite haphazard and could well be arranged otherwise, as there is no way of determining which factor might have been stronger and more important than the others. Nor should one lose sight of the likelihood of several factors coexisting and interacting at the same time, mutually reinforcing one another's influence. The list is certainly not complete; there must be further factors that affected the course of Arabisation in the Nuba Mountains area. At any rate, here are some factors that were probably particularly decisive:

1. The impact of Muslim holy men and teachers[17]

This factor was of course mainly responsible for the spread of Islam rather than for ethnic changes, but the peculiarities of Sudanese history – some of which I have already mentioned – meant that Islamisation was often accompanied by a subsequent process of Arabisation as well (see point 2 above). The conversion of the Sudanese population was undoubtedly the work of Muslim religious teachers and member of the Ṣūfī *élite*, instead of the nomadic Arab tribes, the

[17] The Sudanese dialectal noun designating the local, village-level religious intelligentsia – literate men with some level of education in the religious disciplines – is *fakī* (from classical Arabic *faqīh*, 'jurisprudent'). Other words sometimes used in Sudan in the same sense were *alfa* (also from classical Arabic *al-faqīh*; a noun more common in the languages of the western savannah zone like Songhay and Yoruba), *sātī* (a Nubian word) and *qūnī* (in Dārfūr). Such rural Muslim intellectuals were, as a rule, members of one of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods – unsurprisingly given the decisive role of the Ṣūfī groups in spreading Islam throughout the Sudan.

latter being far more interested in slave-raiding than in proselytising, which means that they in fact had a vested interest in the continuing presence of non-Muslim populations that would serve as reservoirs of slaves (Holt 1961:28). This being so, it is hardly surprising that the majority of 'holy men' were not nomadic Arabs but members of the Nubian – and mostly non-Arabic-speaking – tribes of the Nile valley, such as the Maḥas, Sawārda, Awlād Ǧābir, ᶜAbābsa, and so on. In later periods, many holy men were also recruited from among the local ethnic groups of Kordofān and the peoples living to the west of Kordofān (Dārfūrians and Fellāta)[18]. In the Tira Mande Mountain, for instance, it was Nuba emigrants who later returned as educated, literate Muslims that began the work of converting the local population to Islam[19]. Muslim religious teachers contributed to the progress of Islamisation mainly through the founding of rural Qur'ānic schools (known as *masīd* or *ḫalwa* in Sudanese Arabic), but with the passing of time they frequently drew to their settlements a huge *clientèle* composed of slaves, escaped slaves, students, individuals and groups in search of patrons and protection, etc.), and thus such local holy men often ended up being the founders of sizeable village settlements as well as quasi-tribes or quasi-lineages. The descendants of a respectable *fakī*'s students, slaves and clients would later on routinely claim descent from the holy man himself, and in a cultural sense they were not altogether wrong. The founding of Qur'ānic schools began in a relatively late period in the Nuba Mountains, but in the immediate vicinity of the mountains *ḫalwa* schools had existed previously and may have occasionally been reached by converted Nuba men from the mountains. The first Islamic school of the Dilling range, called Qaᶜr al-Ḥağar, was founded at the end of the 19th century; the Nyimang range saw the founding of its first Qur'ānic school only in 1947; but the Islamised state of Tegali has had quite a number of such institutions for centuries (Stevenson 1966:221; aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991: 244. The British colonial administration sought to hinder the spread of Islamic

[18] *Fellāta* (and *Takārna*, *Takārīr*) is the Sudanese dialectal word designating immigrants coming from the western part of the savannah zone, from countries to the west of Sudan and Chad (Senegal, Guinea, Cameroon, and other countries, especially Nigeria and Niger). Having arrived as pilgrims on their way to or returning from Mecca, these communities chose to settle in the Sudan and became part of the local ethnic mosaic. The lingua franca of these groups is Hausa and increasingly Arabic, but some groups of pure Fulani extraction speak Fulfulde as well. The name Takārīr is derived from the word Takrūr, which was originally the name of an Islamised mediaeval state south of the Senegal River, and was later generalised to refer to the whole of Muslim West Africa.

[19] Starting around the year 1891, when a local Nuba man who had been captured and taken to Umm Durmān during the wars of the Sudanese Mahdi returned to open his Qur'ānic school in Tira Mande. See Stevenson 1966:225.

religious education in the Nuba Mountains but met with no success. While interest in attending the Christian mission schools was very limited, there was a mass demand among the Nuba for the teaching of the Arabic language and the Islamic religion[20]. To the Nuba Muslim 'holy men' were not an unfamiliar sight, since in many respects they resembled the Nuba's own shamans, sorcerers and medicine-men (known as *kuğūr* in many Nuba languages). Thus for many non-Muslim Nuba, a Muslim *fakī* was just a particularly powerful medicine-man; the more so as Muslim holy men were ready purveyors of (presumably 'Islamic') talismans, amulets, magic substances and 'magic roots' (*ḥirz*, *ḥiğāb*, *tamīma*, *ᶜurūg as-siḥr*, *ᶜugda*) among the Nuba. As an accompaniment to magic objects and substances, the Nuba would absorb many – though superficially understood – Muslim customs as well (Nadel 1947:485; Martini 1961: 124). Many of the celebrated holy men of the Sudan – such as Muḥammad Tāğ ad-Dīn al-Baġdādī al-Bahārī in the 16th century, Ḥasan wad Ḥasūna in the 16th century, and others – visited the Nuba Mountains area and spent some time there, especially in the state of Tegali (Stevenson 1966:210). However, the most famous Muslim 'saint' of the Nuba Mountains region was the Kordofānian Badawī wad Abū Ṣafiyya (ca. 1767-1848). He conducted his proselytising work around many of the mountain ranges, but the focus of his activity was Tegali. His famous schools he established in the vicinity of al-Minzafa (west of al-Ubayyiḍ [El Obeid]) – that is to say outside the Nuba Mountains area – yet the majority of his students were Nuba converts to Islam, whom he later sent back to the mountains to spread the teachings of Islam in their homeland[21]. A comparably im-

[20] The British colonial administration decided in 1923 that areas with a non-Muslim majority population should be given Christian mission schools instead of Muslim schools, whilst areas with a mixture of Muslims and pagans should receive secular education with no Islamic content in the curriculum. Because of the irrepressible needs of the local population, the teaching of Arabic writing and language was allowed in 1935, but for obvious missionary purposes such instruction was entrusted to Coptic Christian teachers from Egypt instead of Muslims. The all-too-evident failure of the missionary project and especially its main component, Christian religious instruction, led the government to give up on this subject. In the 1940s, realising the futility of trying to curtail the influence of Islam, the government allowed the Nuba to choose for themselves the type of school they preferred to attend. After independence (1956) most mission schools closed their doors, and the teaching of the Islamic religion came to be an integral part of the curriculum, as in the rest of northern Sudan. See Sanderson 1963:236-245.

[21] The full name of this teacher is Aḥmad al-Badawī b. ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Badawī ar-Raqīq al-Ḥiğāzī, while his popular nickname was Abū Šanab. Having studied for 16 years at Katrāğ, a famous Islamic educational centre on the Blue Nile, he returned to Kordofān and started to tour the Nuba Mountains as a teacher. After he founded his school, he sent his younger brother Muḥammad Šaraf ad-Dīn to Tegali, where the latter settled on the Tāšīn mountain range and married the daughter of the local Nuba ruler. See aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991:244.

portant role in Islamising the Nuba region was played by a Ṣūfī brotherhood of local (Kordofānian) origin called the Ismāʿīliyya. The brotherhood considered the conversion, through peaceful means, of the Nuba population to Islam to be its primary goal. The founder of the brotherhood, Ismāʿīl wad ʿAbdallāh, was already actively engaged in this endeavour (Abū Salīm 1412 / 1992:25).

2. The high prestige of Arab ethnicity and culture

This aspect is of course fast interwoven with the previous one, since conversion to Islam inevitably heightens the – already considerable – prestige of links to Arabia, the Arabic language, and Arab culture. Surely Islamic and Arab identity are two very different things, but they are more closely interlinked in the Sudan than they are in almost any other parts of the Muslim world. Here the exceptionally marked prestige of a special group of supposed 'Arabs' (although not necessarily Arabic speakers) must be mentioned briefly, namely the category of *ašrāf*, the real or (more often) putative descendants of the prophet Muḥammad, whose numbers are remarkably high in almost all Sudanese ethnic groups. The immensely high esteem in which these people have been held in the Sudan for centuries, and the attendant privileges, are in themselves sufficient to explain the frequency of claims of belonging to this prestigious category[22]. The prestige of being an Arab was further enhanced by the status of the immigrant Arab tribes as victorious conquerors; the *baggāra* tribes have always tended to be more aggressive, powerful and warlike than the local Nuba agriculturalists. And what Ibn Ḥaldūn stated in the 14th century has a more general validity:

> "[The defeated people] borrow all of the conqueror's traits and become assimilated to him. This is by way of imitation, or it may be due – but God knows it best – to the [defeated people's] perception that the conqueror owes his conquest not to his tribal solidarity or warlike nature but to his customs and traits. [...] Just observe any country [and see] how in most cases the clothes of the army and the ruler's troops become widespread among the people, precisely because [the victorious troops] are in the dominant position. So much so that should a people living next to another people make the latter their vassals, [the defeated people] will be assimilated to

[22] In the perilous period of the Arab invasion and population movements known in the Sudan as the age of *qīmān* (lit. 'peoples'; 15th-16th c.), members of the *ašrāf* category would be spared the ravages of intertribal raiding, and their livestock and property would be returned to the owners in case it had been taken by error. For that reason the *ašrāf* would apply a special brand (resembling a big inverted Z letter and called *ʿarǧ*) to their beasts to warn all potential raiders. See aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991:111.

[the victorious people] to a large extent and imitate them ...” (Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima* II, 510-511).

As if wishing to give substance to Ibn Ḫaldūn’s assertion, the Nuba indeed eagerly borrow a great number of aspects from the culture of the powerful *baggāra* tribes. In many Nuba groups Arab-style garments were regarded as prized possessions in the 1940s, and self-respecting Nuba hosts would offer their guests strong, heavily sugared tea *à l’arabe*. To be sure, the various Nuba groups would also borrow elements of one another’s culture, yet it was only Arab culture that *all* Nuba groups would generally deem as worthy of being emulated (Nadel 1947:81-82, 483; Martini 1961:124). This is a key development, indeed a turning-point: a defeated culture that brute force has subdued and reduced to a position of resistance has all but internalised a sense of being inferior. That this is a function of power relations and not of intrinsic cultural values and objective comparisons must be obvious. It would be hard to argue that the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the *baggāra* is in its entirety more advanced than that of the Nuba – suffice to compare the architecturally impressive housing compounds of the Nuba with the primitive shelters of the *baggāra*.

3. Linguistic diversity

This factor obviously helps spread the Arabic language among the indigenous population and thereby indirectly furthers Arabisation. I have already commented on the incredible linguistic variety to be found in the Nuba Mountains region. Practically every mountain range or hill have their own languages, sometimes even more, which means that a Nuba leaving his or her immediate social milieu will need to use a lingua franca, typically Arabic. In the towns of the Nuba region Arabic is the primary language. Owing to these circumstances bilingualism – in the sense of using Arabic as the lingua franca – has increasingly become the norm in the area of the Nuba Mountains. The situation is different from that observed in southern Sudan (now an independent state): whereas numerous Arabic-speaking tribes live in the plains of the Nuba Mountains and their Arabic dialect naturally serves as the common language of the region, southern Sudan has no substantial Arab population and has been more resistant to Arab influences, and thus an extremely simplified Arabic pidgin has been used there as a lingua franca instead of a genuine Arabic dialect (Abū Salīm 1412/1992:21). Not incidentally, the impact of linguistic diversity upon the process of Arabisation in the Sudan is observable in various historical periods and outside the Nuba Mountains as well; some authors propose that the *Funǧ* ethnic group (the dominant ethnicity of the Sennār – or Funǧ – state) was also a group of hetero-

geneous origins that came to use Arabic as a lingua franca, adopting it later as their mother tongue[23].

4. Political turmoil and instability: political factors

The history of southern Kordofān (and Kordofān in general) was anything but peaceful from the arrival of the nomadic Arab tribes. Political turmoil, wars and insecurity were all important factors that contributed to the advance of Arabisation in various ways; and in more recent times – especially from the time of colonisation – administrative measures also furthered this process, since the Nuba Mountains region continued to be, apart from brief intervals in the colonial period, treated as an integral part of Kordofān province[24]. For the progress of Arabisation, the following three periods (as well as the postcolonial period, which will not detain us here) had particular importance:

a. The 'age of peoples' (*qīmān*)

This era (15th to 16th century) saw the immigration of groups of genuine Arab nomads into the central savannah zone of the Sudan. Moving westwards, the Arab nomads found good pasture for their livestock. Although relatively few in number in comparison with the autochtonous population, they were extremely warlike and aggressive, and waged continuous wars both against indigenous groups and among themselves and ended up totally disrupting the existing political structures and ethnic tableau. For instance, they drove the Nuba groups into the mountain ranges where they live today, and assimilated the communities that chose to remain on the plains[25]. The *baggāra* Arabs, having by then adopted cattle herding instead of camels and merged into the conquered African population while keeping their Arabic language, pushed eastwards from Chad again in the 18th century and at the end of this migration they re-entered southern Kordofān (Cunnison 1954:50). Unsurprisingly, Sudanese popular memory remembers the age of the *qīmān* as a dark period. As the very word *qīmān* (a dialectal plural of classical Arabic *qawm*, 'a group of people', also 'a raiding

[23] Seligman and Seligman 1932:415. The heterogeneous origins of the Funǧ included countless indigenous African ethnicities of the southern Gezira and Blue Nile regions but did not include Arabs. An implicit recognition of such origins is the usual Sudanese reference to the Sennār state: *as-Salṭana az-Zarqā'* (lit. 'Blue Sultanate', 'blue' being the Sudanese equivalent of 'very dark black', 'Negro').

[24] Even though the Nuba Mountains region was declared a separate province in 1914, it was reintegrated with Kordofān Province in 1929; see Sanderson 1963:238.

[25] Trimingham 1949:244. On the situation prior to these developments and on the history of Arab immigration into the Sudan, see Hasan 1967.

party') suggests, this was an age of ethnic displacement, re-arrangements and migration on a vast scale in the savannah zone.

b. The era of the Mahdi Uprising (*al-Mahdiyya*)

The history of the Mahdi's movement has many points of connection with the Nuba Mountains. The mountainous region was often the scene of battles and skirmishes, and it is to be noted that the Nuba, insofar as they were willingly involved in any of these wars, tended to side with the Mahdi's followers against the foreign forces[26]. For instance, the so-called *Ǧihādiyya* troops of the Egyptian government, composed in the main of Nuba slaves, deserted to the side of the Mahdi and would thereupon maintain their loyalty to him. However, after the death of the Mahdi Muḥammad Aḥmad the Nuba population was exposed to a lot of suffering at the hands of the troops of the Mahdi's successor the caliph ᶜAbdallāh at-Taᶜāyišī, and the *baggāra* tribes of the region. Slave-raiding was resumed in full force, instability became chronic, and no Nuba settlement could feel secure from attack. The population of whole villages, indeed whole mountains, were carried away to the capital Umm Durmān (Omdurman), and not all of these displaced people would return to their homeland after the final defeat of the Mahdist forces. For instance, the greater part of the inhabitants of Kaderu, Ġulfān, Debri and Miri could only return to their mountains after 1898 (Trimingham 1949:245; Stevenson 1966:212); it is probably not coincidental that the population of these ranges are among the most Islamised and Arabised Nuba communities. This forced displacement was referred to by the Mahdists as *hiǧra*, 'emigration' – a word originally used in reference to the Prophet's emigration from pagan Mecca to Medina – and it affected, in addition to the Nuba, most ethnic groups of the western provinces Kordofān and Dārfūr, whether Arabic-speaking or otherwise. As a result, Umm Durmān in this period came to be a veritable melting-pot of Sudanese ethnicities. So many people were carried

[26] Having defeated the Egyptian government's troops in Abbā island, the Mahdi sought refuge in the Nuba Mountains from the government's reprisals, a move suggested to him by the ruler of Tegali, Ādam Umm Dabālō. The Mahdists first settled near az-Zamzamiyya, then moved on to a formidable mountain redoubt known as Baṭn Ummak ('Your Mother's Belly') in reference to the safety it offered, of which the local population habitually availed themselves whenever the need arose. The mountain-dwelling Nuba helped the Mahdi by warning him of the movements of his enemies by fires ignited on the mountain peaks. During the rainy season the Mahdi moved again, this time to the an-Naǧāra range, and thereafter they kept moving to other Nuba-populated mountains such as Gadīr, Karan, Alodi and al-Ǧarāda. Both *baggāra* Arabs and Nuba hillsfolk joined the Mahdi's followers in great numbers. In 1881 the Mahdi exchanged gifts with the Nuba chiefs and shamans of Gadīr Mountain, and promised to refrain from attacking the Nuba, a commitment he kept to his death but his successor the caliph ᶜAbdallāh did not. See Šibīka 1964:242; Faris 1972:3.

away to Umm Durmān from one single southeastern Nuba village, Fungor, that a quarter of the capital is still called *Ḥillat Fungor* ('Settlement of Fungor') for that reason, albeit the Nuba living there have either returned home long ago or 'become Arabs' (Faris 1972:5).

c. The colonial period

As the economic interests of the colonial government were no more served by slave raiding or continuing local warfare, it suppressed these phenomena, and consequently the process of Arabisation would be fuelled by other factors. Of course the colonial administration was quite hostile to Islamic conversion and Arabisation, but soon came to realise that it had little influence over these processes; what is more, certain administrative decisions taken by the government even facilitated them. For instance, they tended to employ Muslim, Arabic-speaking clerks in the local administration, and to make governance easier, they would sometimes merge Arab-majority and Nuba-majority subdistricts into larger units. Other factors that under colonialism greatly facilitated ethnic mixing and assimilation included paid work, temporary agricultural labour migration and taxation. A good example of the unwitting support of the Arabisation of Nuba populations by the colonial government is the tendency of ascribing ever larger areas under the jurisdiction of the Tegali state, which – as noted above – had been strongly Islamised for centuries[27]. After a number of largely unsuccessful attempts to force Christian mission education and Christianity upon the Nuba, the British government more or less abandoned these efforts and let the Arabic language and Islamic religious instruction progress in the Nuba Mountains region in their natural course (Sanderson 1963:239-45).

5. Slavery

Slavery and the slave trade tend to be factors facilitating ethnic and cultural mixing, and typically it is the culture of the slave-owners that will be in the dominant position. It is well-known that the traditional Anglo-Saxon (colour-based) patterns of racism are very rare in the Islamic world; and high-status Arab men in particular would frequently take concubines, and even wives, from among their female slaves. Slavery within the Sudan was a primary factor contributing to the rapid fusion of the few genuine Arab immigrant tribes into the local population on the one hand, and it was also instrumental in destroying many old

[27] Areas merged with the larger Tegali administrative unit included Balūla, Abū Girays and Umm Ṭalḥa in 1930, Tukam and Moreib in 1932, Turǧuk and Tagoi in 1933, Elīri in 1937 and Talodi in 1945. By 1947 virtually the whole eastern part of the Nuba Mountains region had been placed under the jurisdiction of the *makk* (king) of Tegali. See Kenrick 1948:144-50.

rural communities exposed to slave-raiding (like the plain-dwelling Nuba) on the other hand; both phenomena gave boost to the process of Arabisation. The Sudan was considered one of the most important sources of slaves in the eastern part of the Arab world, especially the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt[28]. The Nuba Mountains in particular were the place of origin of a large part of Sudanese slaves, owing to the activity of the local *baggāra* tribes. Slave-raiders (called *nahhāḍa*) were active within the mountains region from the time of the rise of the Funǧ state; Nuba slaves converted to Islam played a prominent role within the armies of both the Funǧ rulers and the Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ᶜAlī (Holt 1961:20-21; Šibīka 1964: 105. That most of the indigenous tribes of the Sudan were at first non-Muslim provided the Arabs with an excellent excuse for raiding them ruthlessly (Islamic law prohibiting the enslavement of Muslims), yet with the passage of time there remained fewer and fewer non-Muslim populations. By the late 19th century the only regions within northern Sudan that were still considered legitimate targets of slave-raiding were the Nuba Mountains (*Dār Nūba*), the southernmost reaches of *Dār Funǧ*, and Baḥr al-Ġazāl province. It is little surprise then that the attention of the slave traders increasingly focused on the theretofore inaccessible regions of southern Sudan (Upper Nile and Equatoria). In certain areas slave-raiding resulted in a wholesale collapse of traditional ethnic patterns and gave rise to Muslim and Arabic-speaking groups of slave ancestry with a heterogeneous tribal background and an Arab identity. Of such groups are composed the inhabitants of the foothills of many of the Nuba mountain ranges, whose mother tongue is Arabic and who are Muslim; the majority of the Nuba of the Elīri range represent this category[29]. It is probably needless to point out that slaves returning to their homelands were almost without exception Muslim and tended to speak Arabic fairly well.

6. Collective assimilation: patron-client relationships (walā')

This process has operated in the Sudan – and in the Nuba Mountains – in precisely the same way as it had in the Middle East directly after the great Arab conquests (Trimingham 1949:99). A collective patron-client relationship is a form of alliance between unequal partners, whereby a weaker tribe places itself collectively under the guardianship of a stronger one and will in time lose its

[28] For instance, the *Tihāma* (the coastal lowlands of western Arabia) encompassed a district called Nūba in the Middle Ages, a reference to the origin of the inhabitants as slaves from (or arriving through) Nubia. See Yāqūt, *Buldān* IV, 820. For more on the slaves exported from Nubia, see Hasan 1967.

[29] The latter consider themselves Arabs of the *Kawāḥla* tribe. A similar group is the *Fartīt* of Baḥr al-Ġazāl, composed as it is of scattered fragments of local ethnicities displaced because of the slave trade. See Murdock 1959:412; Trimingham 1949:103.

own separate identity. Such an alliance can be entered into in various ways, but in all cases a kind of quasi-kinship emerges between the two groups[30]. In the context of the Sudan after the Arab immigration the stronger party was virtually always an Arabic-speaking tribe, as the autochtonous communities, however more numerous, were simply no match for the aggressiveness and military might of the warlike Arab nomads. By concluding an alliance both sides stood to gain: the indigenous people gained the protection of a powerful, warlike tribe at the cost of losing their independence and former identity, whereas the Arab tribe gained considerable numerical strength. The reason the weaker party had to give up its identity is that the Arab nomads could conceive of no type of enduring solidarity between allied groups other than kinship relations (no matter how fictitious in character)[31]. The creation of patron-client relationships was often taken for granted in the Sudan: every tribe of Arab nomads gained possession of the area in which they pastured their flocks (their *dār*) and the indigenous population living within that area would thereupon be regarded as their clients (Šibīka 1964:82). The operation of patron-client relationships within the Sudanese context is described by Trimingham (1949:251) in the following manner:

> "Islamization in the Eastern Sudan usually meant eventual absorption into the Arab tribal system. The broken-up groupings and the detribalized always join some 'Arab' tribe either as clients or actual members. Thus most of the sedentary tribes in the Jezīra, Kordofān, and Dārfūr, with little Arab blood, claim it. The process is natural since it offers protection. It can be seen in progress in the Nūba Mountains […]"

As a more general rule, it has been observed that stateless tribal societies – such as that of the Arab Bedouin – tend to be characterised by a combination of conquest and assimilation instead of simply conquest and rule, the latter being more characteristic of expansionist states[32].

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[30] Pre-Islamic Arabs distinguished several forms of alliance between unrelated people, including *tabannī* (adoption, with the weaker party borrowing the full genealogical identity of the stronger one and even being entitled to inheriting), *ǧiwār* (lit. 'neighbourhood', meaning primarily a relationship based on protection), *walā'* (patron-client relations), *mu'āḫāt* (taking someone as a brother, pseudo-brotherhood). See Conte 1987:127.

[31] Robertson Smith identified two underlying principles governing all types of alliances, fusion and fragmentation of Arab tribes, namely 1. the notion that the only effective links between people can be kinship links (whether real or fictitious), and 2. the notion that the goal of social organisation is cooperation for defence or offence. Cited by Ashkenazi 1946-9:661.

[32] Sahlins 1961:341, where the example of the south Sudanese Nuer people is mentioned. Among the Nuer captives taken from among enemy tribes – typically the Dinka – would usually be assimilated as members with full rights of the victorious Nuer clan. For more on this, see Evans-Pritchard 1968:154.

7. Individual assimilation: mixed marriages

Mixed marriages (between Muslim 'Arabs' and non-Muslim inigenous people) have been quite common in the Sudan since the beginning of Arab immigration, and they invariably resulted in assimilation into the Arab community. The main reason of this – apart from those already mentioned – was that such marriages were always concluded between an 'Arab' man and a non-Arab woman, with the opposite being quite unheard-of, and the patrilinear and patriarchal society that became typical after conversion to Islam was based on the dominance of men in politics as well as in family matters. Arab immigrants very smartly took advantage of the matrilinear social organisation formerly dominant among many Sudanese peoples, including the Nubians. Local rulers would often give their daughters in marriage to the chiefs of the warlike immigrant Bedouin tribes, and according to the indigenous matrilinear rules of inheritance and succession political power would be inherited by the (Muslim) children of such mixed marriages. However, from the next generation onwards, Islamic patrilinear rules of succession and inheritance would be applied in matters of political leadership. By this process Arabic-speaking dynasties of mixed origin rose to power in quite a few Sudanese states and ethnic groups shortly after the arrival of Arab immigrants[33]. According to oral traditions, such a development took place in the Tegali kingdom of the Nuba Mountains, where an Arabic-speaking Nubian immigrant from the land of the *Rubāṭāb* tribe along the Nile married a daughter of the local ruler (*makk*), and the descendants of this couple – the Ǧīlī dynasty – would reign thereafter (aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991:163). Mixed marriages were normally perceived on both sides as mutually advantageous. Albeit it is often emphasised that Arab tribes strongly favoured endogamy, preferably in the form of parallel cousin marriage, exogamy has always been rather common in practice – indeed even the most extreme form of exogamy (to borrow the apt phrase of Lévi-Strauss /1969:10/), interracial marriage. Furthermore, given the higher frequency of polygamy, divorce and remarriage among nomadic populations of the Sudan as compared to sedentary groups, the possibility of varying marriage alliances – including mixed marriages – is accordingly higher (Henin 1969:243, 247). As for the other side, indigenous Sudanese peoples have shown little opposition to the idea of marrying off their daughters to outsiders. Among most ethnic groups of the Nuba Mountains immigrants – both 'Arabs' and members of other Nuba groups – were usually received without hostility, and the cause of

[33] This is what happened among the Nubian-speaking ethnic group now called Kunūz, a name derived from that of an immigrant Arab ruler of the Mamlūk period, Kanz ad-Dawla. This man married into the old Nubian ruling dynasty, and his descendants would inherit the throne by the process described above. For more on this topic see Holt 1967:148; Trimingham 1949:71-2.

the relative infrequency of mixed marriages was the isolation and inaccessibility of most Nuba communities rather than hostility. Up to the 1940s marriages between 'Arabs' and Nuba were not common, but the situation is likely to have changed considerably since then (Nadel 1947:29, 269, 395, 488-489).

8. Strong tribal solidarity and unity among Arabs versus fragmentation of indigenous communities

The Arabisation of the Sudan may also be understood in terms of a conflict between two different types of tribal organisation, in which the social structure represented by the Arab tribes has proven more powerful and resilient. The structure of Arab tribes can be characterised by the term *segmentary*, while the society of the Nuba and a host of other indigenous Sudanese ethnicities can be said to be *fragmentary* in contrast. The key to the success of the Arab nomads is their typical social organisation, which is typical of expanding, aggressive, 'predatory' tribal communities. It is usually called segmentary lineage organisation in the ethnographic literature. In this structure, every tribal unit is conceived as the descendants of a single male ancestor. When the number of the members of such a unit grows large enough, it tends to be divided into smaller segments, and these in turn will also be divided into yet smaller segments, and so on. Genealogical segments on the same level of segmentation may well have a hostile relationship with each other over any issue (usually rivalry over natural resources), but when any of the segments are attacked by an outside group – or when a segment plans to attack an outside group – all segments tend to unite and form a common front against all outsiders. In other words, despite all the internal rivalry and hostilities that normally exist between subgroups, any attack from outsiders will immediately set off tribal solidarity among all segments to the highest level. The more foreign (less related) the attacker, the higher the level of internal segmentation to which all tribal units will automatically unite. For example, if a conflict arises between two subtribes, all related clans and lineages will unite on both sides to fight the other bloc. If the aggression originates from outside the tribe altogether, all lineages and clans of the whole tribe will close ranks, regardless of any possible previous (or current) conflict within their tribe. A famous and very old Arabic dictum expresses this principle eloquently: "Me and my brother against my paternal cousin, me and my paternal cousin against a stranger (*anā wa-aḫī ᶜalā bni ᶜammī, anā wa-bnu ᶜammī ᶜalā l-ġarīb*)." That being so, the deep segmentation of the tribe does not equal fragmentation and the disappearance (or indeed weakening) of solidarity within the tribe – and by the same token, within the subtribe, clan, lineage, family – because that solidarity immediately reappears when the larger unit is attacked by or plans an attack against outsiders. (The mediaeval Arab scholar Ibn Ḥaldūn used the

much-discussed term *ᶜaṣabiyya* in reference to this tribal solidarity.)[34] In the case of the Nuba Mountains, this meant that Arab nomads would easily form a common front against the Nuba villagers, despite their own internal divisions, which were many and frequent. Facing the segmentary tribal organisation of the Arabs were smaller or larger but always fragmented rural Nuba communities lacking any unifying principle comparable to the aforementioned system. It bears mention that a segmentary type of tribal organisation resembling that of the Arabs could be found among some other Sudanese peoples as well, the best-known case being the Nuer of southern Sudan, a people who were as successful in conquering and assimilating neighbouring ethnic groups within their sphere of influence as were the Arabs in northern Sudan (Sahlins 1961: 338-339). So formidable was this type of tribal organisation in the Sudan that a host of local ethnic groups also had to reorganise along similar lines to survive, witness the cases of many – now Arabic-speaking – Nubian tribes living along the Nile and in central Kordofān, such as the *Ǧimiᶜ*, *Ǧamūᶜāb*, *Ǧawāmᶜa*, *Ǧaᶜaliyyīn*, *Šāygiyya*, *Manāṣīr*, etc. Another interesting example is the case of the Nuba slave soldiers captured by the Funǧ ruler Bādī Abū Daqn in the 17th century and settled in separate villages around the capital Sennār. Naming their villages after the mountain ranges from which the inhabitants had been carried off, these Nuba soldiers became an important contingent within the army of the Funǧ state. By the 18th century they became Arabic speakers and formed a distinct tribe called *Anwāb*, the plural form of the Arabic ethnic name Nūba. As an 'Arab' tribe they were able to continue as a corporate group and represent their group interests; many members of the Anwāb tribe came to be highly influential and rose to prominent positions in the Funǧ administration (Šibīka 1964:62-3, 76-7).

9. Leaving the village community: migration and urbanisation

Emigration from the village community is an obvious catalyst of assimilation to an Arab identity, combining as it does several prerequisites of such a process. When a Nuba person leaves his own mountain, he will be obliged to communicate in Arabic if he is to be understood, he will downplay or abandon altogether his non-Muslim customs to fit in, and so on. From this point of view, the motive of his departure from the village is largely irrelevant, as is the distinction

[34] *ᶜAṣabiyya* is one of the most problematic *termini technici* of Ibn Ḫaldūn, but this being a marginal issue for the present discussion, I will be content with rendering it as 'tribal solidarity' here. Sahlins's term *segmentary sociability* (which he specifies further as the 'love thy neighbour' principle) is another close equivalent; see Sahlins 1961:331. The most general equivalent of *ᶜaṣabiyya* may be 'group solidarity', while *esprit de corps* appears a bit too generalised, since *ᶜaṣabiyya* tends to be associated with a sense of kinship or pseudo-kinship. On these terms, see Hamès 1987:113.

between voluntary and forced emigration. It has already been noted that Nuba farmers settled at the foothills of the main ranges tend to be overwhelmingly Muslim and to have an Arab identity. Likewise slavery, paid work, military or police service, employment as a domestic servant, schooling (whether at *ḫalwa* or state schools), trading, visits to towns, and number of other factors will involve departure from the village community and thereby strengthen Arab cultural influence. Another very strong influence – if only affecting those already professing Islam – is the pilgrimage to Mecca[35]. It can be stated as a nearly general rule that the more outside contacts a Nuba community has the more advanced the state of Arabisation among them[36]. It is not only in the Nuba Mountains region that departure from the village has been observed enhancing the impact of Arab culture but in quite a few other regions as well in which a great number of small ethnic groups live side by side. A pertinent example is the Dango ethnic group of Dārfūr. Originating from the Ǧabal Dango mountain near Nyālā in southern Dārfūr, this group had first moved to Baḥr al-Ġazāl province and later, around 1930, back to their original homeland; during these migrations contact with other ethnicities resulted in their adoption of the Arabic language and near-total cultural Arabisation (Santandrea 1950:60-1). As for an urban environment, its assimilatory impact is so evident as to need no comment, suffice it to say that factors 1 to 3 and 7 in my list above work in combination, hence with especial force, in a town. It is unsurprising then that the mountains in the immediate vicinity of towns (Dilling, Delāmi, Talōdi, Rašād, Kādugli) within the Nuba Mountains region tend to be inhabited by heavily Arabised Nuba (Trimingham 1949:246).

10. The emergence of local nuclei of assimilation

The cultural impact of an already Arabised Nuba group can be likened to the waves set off by a stone thrown into water and is understandably strongest among neighbouring groups of pagan Nuba. The growth of ever more local 'Arab' centres further increases the intensity of the process. The most important such cultural centres within the Nuba Mountains have already been mentioned: Tegali, Sheybun and the mountains of the Dājo ethnic group, who arrived here

[35] The partly Arabic-speaking *Fellāta* or *Takārna* communities of many regions in the Sudan – including the Nuba Mountains – emerged as a result of mass pilgrimages from West Africa to Mecca. As noted above, many of the pilgrims chose to settle in the Sudan instead of returning to West Africa.

[36] For instance, frequent contacts were maintained between the Nuba of the Dilling mountain range and the related *Ġōdiyāt* ethnic group living south of al-Ubayyiḍ (El Obeid), Arabised at a very early time. Predictably, the Dilling Nuba are indeed one of the most Arabised Nuba communities. See Nadel 1947:360.

as Muslims from the west. In fact, the history of the whole Nuba Mountains area illustrates the effect of a stone thrown into water, given that Muslim immigrants into this region were not 'genuine' Arab tribes at all but previously Arabised indigenous Sudanese such as the *Ǧaᶜaliyyīn*, *Danāgla*, *Ġōdiyāt* and the *baggāra* tribes. The first nucleus of Arabisation in the Sudan was the Nubian areas along the Nile (e.g. around Aswān and Dongola). One of the most permanent population movements in Sudanese history is the continuous emigration to the south of the excess population of Nubia, since the limited extent of arable lands in Nubia can only sustain a limited population, the surplus periodically emigrating to the more fertile and humid savannah zone. Thus the cultural Arabisation of Kordofān largely reflects the influence of immigrants of Nubian ethnic background (e.g. the Maḥas and Danāgla) as well as of local populations converted to Islam and 'become Arabs' (e.g. the Ǧaᶜaliyyīn, Rikābiyya, Bidayriyya, Dahmašiyya, Dawālīb)[37].

After surveying all the above factors it can hardly be either doubtful or odd that such a potent combination of cultural and social influences should lead to a relatively rapid process of assimilation and identity change. Indeed, the question that begs to be asked is exactly the opposite one: considering the strength of the above factors, how could a number of regions (such as the Nuba Mountains) continue to have non-Arab – indeed in some cases non-Muslim – majorities up to the modern period? The answer can be summarised in one word – isolation. With the growth of modern communication and transport, this factor decreases in importance, but in premodern circumstances certain geographical features formed a very effective barrier to cultural and social contacts and gave refuge to culturally conservative populations. Throughout the savannah zone of Africa mountainous areas provided shelter to similar groups of miscellaneous non-Muslim populations composed of a variety of small ethnicities, each with their own language. Examples include the Ingessana, hill Burūn and Berta of the southern Dār Funǧ, the Ḥaǧerāi (dialectal Arabic: 'rock-dwellers') of central Chad, and the Kirdi population of the Mandara Mountains of northern Cameroon. (All of these populations have recently begun to be Islamised, indeed in many cases now have a Muslim majority.) In other cases mountains proved to be a cultural barrier to an Arab ethnic identity but not to Islam; the Fūr of the Ǧabal Marra and Ǧabal Sī of Dārfūr are a pertinent case. The significance of mountains as cultural refuges was already noted by Ibn Ḫaldūn in the mediaeval period:

[37] Cf. Holt 1961:7; Stevenson 1966:208, 210.

> "[...] They [i.e. Arab nomads] are a people eager for plunder and destruction because of their inherent savagery. They will rob whatever they can snatch with little combat and peril and then they retreat to their desert pastures. They will not engage in battles and severe fighting unless they have to defend themselves. Thus they prefer to leave alone every impregnable and inaccessible place, avoiding assaulting it and preferring easier [terrain]. Tribes who would resist them in impassable mountains will be safe from their depredations and destruction, since [nomadic Arabs] will not follow them to the top of the plateaus, nor will they enter impassable mountain paths and thereby expose themselves to danger. The plains, however, are a free loot and a quick bite to swallow [for the nomadic Arabs]; they will continue raiding them, plundering and marching here and there, for this is an easy terrain for them. Finally the population will come to be under their dominion and will be ruined by [the nomads'] constant changes of leadership and their terrible policies until civilisation will disappear..." (Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima* II, 513-5).

One important subject remains to be discussed in some detail if we are to understand the process of Arabisation in Sudanese history – the social role of Arab genealogies. Genealogical forgeries are as widespread in the Sudan as in other regions of the Islamic world, providing an ideological basis for claims of Arab identity. Instead of the above factors and historical processes, most Sudanese will account for their Arab identity by recourse to the concepts and general discourse of (Arabic) genealogical science and its folk versions. As I indicated above, such explanations are the last phase of Arabisation that completes the process of cultural assimilation.

Just as the development of an Arab identity goes through several phases, so does the emergence of the 'genealogical basis' – that is to say genealogical explanations – proceed through several possible levels. All of these levels are observable in the Sudan. In general it is fair to say that the higher the level of literacy in a society and the more firmly rooted the techniques of writing, the more sophisticated, detailed and complex the genealogical traditions and pedigrees. Accordingly, the Nuba Mountains, where the scope of literacy in Arabic has until very recently been extremely restricted, shows only the very rudiments of the fabrication of Arab genealogies – as corresponds to a society at only the initial stage of Arabisation. By constrast, the huge Arabic-speaking farming populations of the Nile valley (such as the *Ǧaᶜaliyyīn*, *Rubāṭāb*, *Mīrafāb*, etc.) have long manufactured the precise and intricate genealogies designed to 'prove' their supposed Arab origins. These genealogies may take the form both of regular pedigrees and of traditions telling the origins of a certain ethnicity, lineage or family; they may be either written or oral. In keeping with Arab so-

cial conventions, genealogies mostly mention ancestors only on the patriline, although very rarely prestigious mothers might also be remembered. As was customary in the mediaeval Arab scholarly milieu, Sudanese family genealogies too tend to go beyond the level of the family or the lineage and link the lineage group to larger, more general pedigrees representing the overall genealogies of the Sudanese population. And further beyond that, Sudanese genealogies are connected to the standard scholarly genealogical tradition that emerged in the mediaeval Middle East and has been handed down in the great mediaeval Arab genealogical manuals[38]. The genealogies of the Sudanese ethnic groups can be divided into two main categories on the basis of the choice of old Arab tribe to which to link the Sudanese pedigree. Sudanese 'Arab' nomads almost invariably trace their descent to the west Arabian (and later Egyptian) *Ǧuhayna* tribe. This claim does have some historical basis, as the Ǧuhayna was indeed the most important, albeit not the only, element among the late mediaeval Arab Bedouin immigrants to the Sudan[39]. Contrastingly, the majority of the Arabic-speaking sedentary population of the Sudan claim descent from the lineage of the Prophet's uncle al-ᶜAbbās, hence the frequent use of the ethnic label *ᶜAbbāsiyya* in reference to this category of Sudanese 'Arabs'. Again, there might be a kernel of historical fact behind these traditions of origin in the case of a few groups, but as a generalised claim of descent among a vast and heterogeneous group of people it is of course utter fiction. The link between the family of al-ᶜAbbās and

[38] For a typical example, see Holt 1981:262-3 (the genealogy of a family of the *Ǧaᶜaliyyīn* tribe). The linking of the newly designed genealogies of the Sudanese ethnicities to the old Arab genealogical tradition was the handiwork of a hazy figure known in the Sudanese historical tradition as al-Imām as-Samarqandī. Characteristically, we know practically nothing about the person of as-Samarqandī, apart from the fact that he was an immigrant scholar active in the mid-16th century at the Funǧ royal court. See Hill 1967:331.

[39] A branch of the vast *Quḍāᶜa* tribal bloc, the *Ǧuhayna* had their original homeland in the region of Medina and Yanbuᶜ in the northern part of the coastal Tihāma plains. Later they migrated to Upper Egypt (from Asyūṭ to Manfalūṭ and Aswān), whence many of them moved southwards into the Sudan. Although the most sizeable Arab tribe of Upper Egypt, and later on the Sudan, was the *Ǧuhayna*, a number of smaller tribes joined them in their new lands, such as the *Ǧuḏām*, *Banū Hilāl*, *Ballī* and *Banū Kilāb*. In addition, a few groups claiming to be related to the Prophet's descendants (*šurafā'*) also lived in the borderlands of Egypt and the Sudan, including the *Ǧaᶜāfra* (supposed descendants of Ǧaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib), *Awlād Qāsim* (descendants of Ismāᶜīl b. Ǧaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣādiq) *Banū l-Ḥasan* (descendants of al-Ḥasan b. Alī b. Abī Ṭālib). And finally, several lineages of the Meccan Qurayš (the Prophet's tribe) are said to have been present in southern Egypt: *Banū Ṭalḥa*, *Banū z-Zubayr*, *Banū Šayba*, *Banū Maẖzūm*, *Banū Umayya*, *Banū Zuhra* and *Banū Sahm*. See al-Balāḏurī, *Ansāb* I, 245-7; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *ᶜIbar* VI, 5; al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik* III (4), 115, 167-170. Two important tribes of Arabic-speaking Sudanese nomads did not claim descent from the *Ǧuhayna*, namely the *Fazāra* of northern Kordofān and the *Rufāᶜa* of the Gezira and Blue Nile. See Holt 1961:8-9.

his putative Sudanese descendants' local pedigrees (in Kordofān and along the Nile alike) is always the – probably entirely fictitious – ancestor called Ibrāhīm Ǧaᶜal (Holt 1961:6).

The manufacture of genealogies was a thriving activity in the Sudan, producing all sorts of pedigrees ranging from very crude and obvious fabrications to deceptively sophisticated family, lineage or ethnic pedigrees. On a popular level, one frequently encounters cases of local groups linking themselves to a celebrated Arab historical figure yet lending little attention to elaborating the genealogical details. Another common phenomenon is a Sudanese ethnic group placing an actual Arab immigrant who indeed married into their community into the centre of their ethnic genealogical tradition and naming him as their common ancestor. In other words, the point at which the genealogical tree branches off will typically be occupied by a famous Arab personage (Trimingham 1949:82). The genealogical tradition of the Sudan – indeed of most societies in general – is further characterised by selective historical memory, consisting of the omission of all less than illustrious ancestors from stories of origin and pedigrees and maximising prestige by the selective inclusion of certain types of ancestors – in the Sudanese context, this tends to mean Arab men. It has already been noted that matrilineal descent is considered largely irrelevant in the Sudan. However, memory of female forbears and the matriline in general may be preserved in cases when these ancestors are particularly prestigious, which is often tantamount to saying that they are Arabs. Should a mother have belonged to an autochtonous ethnic group – especially if she had been a concubine into the bargain – her name and origin will certainly be dropped from historical memory[40].

Quite a few Sudanese 'Arab' tribes are in fact conglomerates of heterogeneous origins, and despite the often elaborate tribal genealogies the actual origins are often betrayed by the very name of the tribe. Take for example the *Kabābīš* tribe of northern Kordofān, which – as their name indicates – came into being 150 to 200 years ago as an amalgam of numerous small groups of sheep (and camel) herders[41]. Heterogeneous origins are even more obvious in the case of a number of tribes living along the White Nile and eastern Kordofān (e.g. *Ǧawāmᶜa*, *Ǧimiᶜ*, *Ǧamūᶜāb*, *Ǧamūᶜiyya*, etc.) whose names are all derived

[40] Of course, this tendency is observable in other Arabic-speaking regions as well and is of long standing. See Conte 1987:120. On a more general plane, the perceived social distance of the same kinship relation on the matriline and the patriline respectively is never identical in any society. This despite of the fact that from a biological point of view the distance between an uncle and his nephew is exactly the same whether it is a paternal or a maternal uncle. See Davis-Warner 1968:68.

[41] *Kabš* means 'ram' in Arabic. On the emergence of the *Kabābīš* tribe, see Asad 1972:128-129.

from the Arabic root that denotes the concept of 'gathering, assembling, coming together' (*ǧ-m-ᶜ*)[42].

In the initial phase of the manufacture of tribal or lineage genealogies no real efforts are made to create an impression of authenticity; at this stage pedigrees are mere sketches and sometimes even glaring inconsistencies are tolerated[43]. A good example is the genealogical tradition that is supposed to give evidence to claims of Arab descent by the rulers (*mbang*) of the Chadian Bagirmi state. While asserting that the ruling dynasty has its origins in the Yemen, the tradition also identifies al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī (one of the Prophet's grandsons) as the first ancestor of the family and creates a genealogical link to the neighbouring (more ancient and prestigious) Borno state's rulers by making the latter descend from al-Ḥusayn, the famous brother of al-Ḥasan. Needless to say, the whole tradition is a bundle of genealogical impossibilities[44].

The recently Arabised inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains are at a comparable stage of manufacturing genealogical proofs of their claims of Arab origins. Their genealogies being of a rudimentary kind at best, these people are content with simply stating that they are Arabs, and perhaps specifying the Arab *baggāra* tribe to which they claim to belong. The most remarkable exception is the genealogical tradition of the ruling dynasty (and of some of their subjects) in Tegali, since these people attach themselves genealogically to the great Sudanese genealogical tradition of descent from the ᶜAbbāsids. Having grafted their own pedigrees onto this genealogical stump, they also have elaborate and detailed genealogical records of their internal branches as well as of their (fictitious)

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[42] Trimingham 1949:16, 82. The emergence of tribal conglomerates and their assumption of a common tribal identity and name is by no means a Sudanese peculiarity; the same phenomenon can be observed in pre-Islamic Arabian society. Such composite tribes often chose an animal species for their tribal name (e.g. *Anmār*, 'Leopards' or *Kilāb*, 'Dogs'). In time the heterogeneous origins of the tribe would be forgotten and an eponymous male ancestor would be invented. See Ashkenazi 1946-9:664.

[43] In this phase it may be felt sufficient simply to identify by name a famous Arab person or group as the supposed ancestor. Thus the Funǧ rulers traced their descent to the Umayyad dynasty; the monarchs of the Kānem state (around Lake Chad), first to the caliph ᶜUṯmān b. ᶜAffān, and later to the Yemenite hero Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan; the Islamised Nubian rulers of Dongola, to the Yemenite monarchs' Ḥimyar tribe. See Hill 1967:347; al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik* III (4), 31; Yāqūt, *Buldān* IV, 820.

[44] Especially revealing is the name that creates a link to the remote Arab ancestors. This man is called ᶜAbd at-Tukrūru, which literally means 'Slave of the Fulani', while sounding like a Muslim Arabic name. The very name of Bagirmi state is popularly derived from an Arabic phrase (equally fancifully): in dialectal Arabic *bagar miya* means 'a hundred heads of cattle', the number the legend says were slaughtered to celebrate their ancestor's birth. See Pâques 1967:186. Likewise, the genealogy of the Nubian Rubāṭāb tribe features an ancestor called Rubāṭ b. Ġulām Allāh; in most probability this name was transformed from the phrase *ṣāḥib ar-ribāṭ* ('frontier fighter'). See Holt 1967:147.

links to other Sudanese Muslim ethnicities. As noted above, these genealogies start at the Prophet's uncle al-ᶜAbbās and connect with the peoples of the Sudan through the person of a certain Ibrāhīm Ǧaᶜal. Practically all Arabic-speaking sedentary inhabitants of Kordofān trace their descent to Ibrāhīm Ǧaᶜal. In the genealogies of the individual ethnic groups one can observe a great number of obviously fictitious personal names, such as Sumra (lit. 'darkness, dark complexion'), supposed ancestor of many ethnic groups of central Kordofān, such as the *Bidayriyya*, *Ṭirayfiyya*, *Šuwayhāt* and others. The Nuba of Tegali trace their origin to the Rikābiyya subgroup of the ᶜAbbāsiyya bloc of tribes, with the fictitious figure of Rikāb b. Ġulām Allāh serving as their common ancestor. The same subgroup is supposed to include such distant groups as the Arabic-speaking Dawālīb Nuba of northern Kordofān[45] and the Šukriyya nomads living east of the Blue Nile. On the other hand, the ruling dynasty of Tegali claimed descent from the ᶜAbābsa, one of the leading lineages of the *Rubāṭāb* tribe (living along the Nile). According to their genealogical traditions, their immediate ancestor was a certain Muḥammad al-Ǧaᶜalī, who arrived in the Nuba Mountains around the year 1530 and married a daughter of the local Nuba king. The offspring from this union has continued to reign over Tegali up to the twentieth century[46].

Having reviewed many of the factors contributing to the spread of Arab identity amongst the Sudanese population, the nature of that ethnic and cultural identity may be better grasped. At the beginning of this essay the observation was made that the simple statement that ethnic mixing in the Sudan over the last few centuries has produced a mostly Arab identity masks a very complex process of interrelated factors that cannot in fact be reduced to the concept of 'mixing'. Despite the immigration of (relatively small) groups of Arabs from the Middle East, the process was more like one of culture change subsequently rationalised through the discourse of kinship and genealogy (taking the form of family, lineage and ethnic pedigrees). Such explanations were sophisticated in proportion to the level of literacy in the community that produced them, the manufacture of intricate pedigrees being a typically 'scholarly' kind of activity. Accordingly, the most impressive genealogies one finds amongst the lineages and groups from which most of the Sudanese religious élite tended to be recruited, such as the

[45] The self-chosen ancestor of this group is a Muḥammad wad Dūlīb ar-Rikābī, who lived in Dongola and was a famous holy man there. According to Dawālīb traditions, one of his descendants, called ᶜAbd al-Hādī wad Dūlīb, went to northern Kordofān and settled amongst the Nuba of the Ḥarāza mountain range. He founded one of the most famous Islamic religious schools of Kordofān in Ḥursī village. See aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991:241-242.

[46] Cf. Holt 1967:149; Stevenson 1966:209; aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991:163, 234.

Awlād Ǧābir, *Ġubš*, *Maḥas*, *Maǧāḏīb*, and so on. A closer scrutiny of Sudanese genealogies almost invariably reveals the unmistakable signs of learned manipulation for ideological ends, yet it would be an immense mistake to conclude that the Arab identity of the Sudan is a hollow fabrication. Identity is not a biological fact but a cultural self-image, and actual descent is just one aspect among many that determine it. As argued above, in Africa and elsewhere the knowledge – and indeed often the fiction – that an Arab immigrant married into the group at some point in the past is often sufficient for an Arab identity to emerge. What is more, a group may even have Arab identity without being Arabic-speaking. That being so, it is neither here nor there for social purposes whether the edifice of Arabic genealogies is largely fictitious, since the genealogical model is widely accepted and influences social life, with members of the groups concerned conceiving of their ethnic and kinship relations on the basis of such genealogies. There is a huge potential of intercultural misunderstanding owing to the very different meanings associated with the modern western concept of 'descent' and Sudanese (and in a wider sense Arab) *nasab* respectively. As has been argued throughout this essay, the 'Arab origins' of much of the Sudanese population is best understood not as a biological, genetic fact but as an assumed yet very strong identity rationalised through a genealogical discourse. In this sense, it might even be argued that the term *nasab* in the Sudanese context – indeed probably in other places too – could perhaps be more accurately rendered in western languages as 'sense of origins, sense of belonging' than by the usual terms 'descent, genealogy'.

It goes without saying that the usual primitive dichotomy of an 'Arab' North versus an 'African' South often encountered in journalistic treatments of the ethnic makeup of the Sudan is a useless and baseless claim; but equally misleading would it be to neglect the very real Arab identity of Muslim Sudan. In a sense, the Sudan *is* an Arab country, but in a very different sense from most Middle Eastern Arab countries. 'Arab' means different things in the different countries of the Middle East and North Africa. What it means in the Sudan has been the main subject of this study, but it will be instructive to cite, by way of a summary, the apt words of a contemporary Sudanese scholar with regard to this issue:

> "The Maḥas tribe is one of the ancient Nubian lineages (*usar*), a branch of the ancient Nubians. Later on, after the Arab conquest, several waves of Arabs arrived, and the custom of mixing and mixed marriages began. They are right if they say, "we are Nubians", since they live in the land of the Nubians, speak that language, and share many of their customs. Yet if they say, "we are Arabs", they are again right, for Islam has long been the common religion of all of them, the features of it [i.e. Islam] having been totally absorbed by them, and there is a bit of Arab blood as well in their veins..." (aṭ-Ṭayyib 1991:102).

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التجزؤات السياسية في جبل لبنان
وأصل الأسرة المعنية التي حكمته من سنة
1516 م إلى 1698 م

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في سياق دراسة تاريخ جبل لبنان السياسي والاجتماعي يجد الباحث نفسه تائهاً أمام تناقضات وخصوصيات مجتمعه الذي كان وما زال واحدا من أكثر مجتمعات منطقة الشرق الأوسط تميزاً وغموضاً. فقد استوطنت الجزءين الأوسط والجنوبي لسلسلة جبال لبنان الغربية قبائل عربية من شمال وجنوب الجزيرة العربية في العقود الأخيرة من القرن الثامن الميلادي، بأمر من الخلفاء العباسيين ولا سيما المنصور، حيث كانت مهمتهم الأساسية قتالية لسد الثغور أمام محاولات البيزنطيين للسيطرة على المنطقة من جهة البحر. وقد أبلوا بذلك بلاءً حسناً، إذ شكلوا مجتمعاً ذا طبيعة حياتية فريدة ومتميزة عن محيطها، إلا أنهم لم يستطيعوا تجاوز الخلافات والنزاعات التي كانت متجذرة فيما بينهم في مواطنهم الأصلية، مما أدى في النهاية إلى اندلاع حروب كثيرة بينهم كانت غالباً ما تقسم البلاد وتفرق العباد.

اشتد العداء السياسي بين قبائل العرب القادمة إلى لبنان وسوريا فحملوه معهم إلى حيث ألقوا عصا الترحال، وذلك لما كان بينهم من التنافس الجنسي. فبثوا ربيعة القحطانيين في جزيرة العراق، وبنو مضر العدنانيين في الحجاز، وما فتئوا على بعد الديار يتحاسدون ويتنابذون. ولما استتب لهم الأمر في حوران وبلاد جبل لبنان، نشروا الحزبية القيسية واليمنية حتى كان لها الشأن العظيم في اضطراب البلاد وتأسيس العداوات.

وبعد أن كانت هذه العصبية في الجاهلية بين القبائل بسبب صحة انسابهم ودخلائهم، تطورت بأطوار مختلفة في عهد الخلفاء الراشدين والأمويين والعباسيين في الشرق من جهة، والأمويين في الأندلس والمغرب من جهة أخرى، وذلك ابتداء من العصبيات الدينية إلى الجنسية فالوطنية فالعربية والعجمية. وكثرت الفتوق والفتن في كل بلد مما فصل في كتاب ‹تاريخ قيس ويمن ووقائعهم› المخطوط والمشتمل على كل نادرة عنهم وشاردة مما اقتبسته من مصادر مخطوطة ومطبوعة عربية وأعجمية، لأن المعنيين كانوا رؤساء القيسيين وكبار

زعمائهم وهم الذين مهدوا سبيل القضاء على اليمنيين في لبنان سنة 1711 م بموقعة عين داره. ومن أقدم المواقع التي عرفت بين القيسية واليمنية، أي بين النزارية والقحطانية وكلها بمعنى واحد وإن اختلفت أسماؤها، ما حدث سنة 64 هـ (683 م) بين مروان بن الحكم الخليفة الأموي اللاحق زعيم اليمنية والضحاك نائب عبد الله بن الزبير زعيم القيسية في مرج راهط[1] بغوطة دمشق، فظفر اليمانية ولا سيما بنو غسان النصارى وقتل الضحاك فبويع مروان بالخلافة.

ثم توالت هذه الفتن مثل فتنة سنة 75هـ (694 م) التي هاجت بين المضربة واليمنية، ورئيس المضربة كان أبو الهيدام عامر المري، وكان سببها قتل اليمانية لرجل من القيسية فاجتمعوا للأخذ بثأره. وكان حاكماً على دمشق وقتها عبد الصمد بن علي فجمع كبار العشائر ليصلحوا بينهم فأمهلتهم اليمانية وبيتوا المضربة، فقتلوا منهم ثلاثمائة أو ضعفها، فاستغاثوا بقبائل قضاعة وسليم فلم ينجدوهم وأنجدتهم قيس وساروا معهم إلى البلقاء، فقتلوا من اليمانية ثماني مائة. وطالت الحروب بينهم وتكررت وقائعهم ومن أشهرها في حوران سنة 1309 م و1440 م وفي لبنان سنة 1534 م بين مالك اليمني وهاشم العجمي القيسي شيخي العاقورة، فخربت بلدتهم وأقفرت إلى أن عاد اليمنية ورمموها. أما القيسية فبقوا في طرابلس وضواحيها ولم يتركوها إلا بعد زمن طويل لينتشروا فيما بعد في أغلب مناطق جبل لبنان في بداية العصر العثماني.

وسنة 1636 م حدثت موقعة مرحاتا (أو مرحلاتا) فوق الشوبر في لبنان والمسماة الآن بضهور الشوير، حيث أبنية الاصطياف الرائعة الخلابة. وسنة 1638 م قتل الأمير علي بن علم الدين اليمني أحمد آغا الشمالي الحاكم العثماني لصيدا وبيروت في منطقة خلدة (تحت المنطقة المسماة بالشويفات بين بيروت والدامور إلى الجنوب من بيروت) لانتصاره للقيسيين، فترك على إثرها القيسيون الشوف والمتن والغرب والجرد.

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[1] قال الأخطل (*ديوان* 251) في ذلك:

وقد كان يوما راهط من ضلالكم فناء لاقوام وخطبا من الخطب

وقال زفر بن الحارث الكلابي وكان قد فر يومئذ عن ثلاثة بنين له وغلام فقتلوا فقال في قصيدة:

لعمري لقد ابقت وقيعة راهط لمروان صدعا بينئا متنائيا

فقد ينبت المرعى على دمن الثرى وتبقى حزازات النفوس كما هيا

راجع ذلك في المسعودي، 2000، ص. 268.

وسنة 1667 م كانت موقعة برج الغلغول[2] في بيروت، فقتل من اليمنية المقدم عبد الله الصواف من منطقة الشبانية (لبنان) وانهزم حزبه إلى بلاد الشام، واستعاد الأمير أحمد المعني الشوف والغرب والجرد والمتن وكسروان من اليمنيين. وسنة 1681 م سادت اليمنية بحكم الأمراء آل علم الدين، وسنة 1693 م تولى أحدهم الأمير موسى مقاطعات الأمير أحمد المعني السبع، وهي الشوف والجرد والمتن والغرب وكسروان وإقليما جزين والخروب، واستمال إليه كثيرا من القيسيين ولكن المعنيين كانوا دعامة القيسيين فرفعوا شأنهم وآزروهم أشد أزر، فلم ينجح القيسيون في تحقيق نصر حاسم عليهم.

ولما انقرض المعنيون سنة 1697 م تم اضطهاد القيسيين، وكثيرا ما كان الحكام العثمانيون يقوونهم مثلما فعل بشير باشا حاكم صيدا سنة 1708 م. وانتهت هذه التحزبات بموقعة عين داره في جرود متن لبنان سنة 1711 م في عهد الأمير حيد ابن الأمير موسى الشهابي أمير جبل لبنان، فتغلب القيسيون على اليمنيين الذين لم تقم لهم بعد ذلك قائمة بل تفرقوا في شتى أنحاء البلاد. ومن الأمثال العامة ما يقال "أنه لم يبق ذكر لليمنيين إلا في ثلاث بلدان: مدينة بيروت وكفرساوان وكفر عقاب في جبل لبنان". وكثيرا ما كانت هذه الحروب ولا سيما في حوران سببا لمهاجرة الأسر الدرزية على وجه الخصوص إلى لبنان كما فصلت ذلك في التاريخ المطول الذي كتب عن هذه الأسر.

وما كادت تلك العصبية تمحى من سفر العمران حتى خلفتها العصبية اليزبكية والجنبلاطية نسبة إلى يزبك جد الشيخ عبد السلام العماد[3] الدرزي زعيمه، وإلى الشيخ علي جنبلاط[4]

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[2] ولا تزال محلة الغلغول وراء دير الآباء العازاريين على السور في بيروت بارتفاع مئات أمتار عنه حيث تجد زقاقا باسم الغلغول في محلة خندق الغميث. وهناك كان البرج والموقعة.

[3] المشايخ بنو العماد ينتسبون إلى جدهم عماد الذي هجر مدينة العمادية قرب الموصل إلى الجبل الأعلى قرب حلب ثم انتقل أعقابه إلى لبنان فنزلوا في مقاطعة العرقوب وقطنوا الزنبيقة واشتهر منهم الشيخ عبد السلام الذي اشتد العداء بينه وبين الشيخ علي جنبلاط فانقسمت البلاد إلى حزبين كبيرين ومن هذه الأسرة رجال اشتهروا في البلاد ولا تزال بقاياهم من وجهائها. راجع: زهر الدين 1991، ص. 126 وفنتور دي بارادي، *تاريخ*، ص. 31.

[4] مشايخ بنو جنبلاط ينتسبون إلى أحد أجدادهم جان بولاد بك ابن الأمير قاسم الكردي القيصري المشهور بابن عربو أمير لواء أكراد حلب المحرف اسمه إلى جنبلاط والمتوفى في أواخر القرن العاشر للهجرة. قال مصطفى نعيما المؤرخ الحلبي: إن علي بن جانبولاد كان أول من ترأس عشيرة الأكراد الجنبولادية في نواحي كاز (كأس) ثم صارت الزعامة إلى حسين بك الذي هو أكبر أقاربه وذكرهم المحبي وغيره من المؤرخين، ولهم دار مهمة في حلب داخل باب النصر أصلها من دور بني الأصبع وغيرهم مرخرفة بالنقوش والذهب والأقشاني وحولها حدائق بديعة. وقد صارت ملك الشيخ حسن

الدرزي زعيم الحزب الجنبلاطي، وذلك بزمن ولاية الأمير ملحم الشهابي من سنة 1729 م إلى سنة 1754 م، وامتدت بين جميع اللبنانيين ولم تزل آثاره ملموسة إلى اليوم في كثير من الأسر والقوى اللبنانية.

ومن العصبيات الشديدة العداوة ما جرى بين الأمراء بني معن والأمراء بني سيجيئ، وحدث مثل ذلك بين بني المعلوف النصاري وبين بني مكارم الدروز، فسميت هذه العصبية باسم "المعلوفي والمكارمي". وضرب بها المثل بين عامة الشعب فقيل: "مثل عداوة بيت

الكواكبي مفتي حلب المتوفى سنة 1209 هـ (1813 م) فوقفها على ذريته وصارت لأسباطه وذكرها الشيخ حسن البوريني الدمشقي في تاريخه المخطوط، فقال: إنها عمرت في خمس سنين وصرف على عمرتها خمسين ألف دينار من الذهب ولم يعرف القوم قبل ذلك ما ذهب عليها من فضة أوذهب ولعمري لقد حسن أن ينشد في حق هذه القاعة:

"وقالوا بني للظلم بالظلم قاعة وعما قليل تلتقيها مرحمة". يقال عنها أيضاً لطريقة ترخيمها "قاع صفصف للخراب".راجع: المعلوف، 1934، ص. 18.

ان عشيرة الجانبولاط من عشائر الأكراد في سنجق كأز على مقربة من حلب وأن حسين باشا عم على باشا هو أعظم رجالهم وكانت له أعمال تستحق الذكر لأن الحكومة العثمانية كانت تنتدبه للسفر في الشرق والغرب، فيلبي هو وعشيرته ويحسنون الدفاع عنها وقهر خصومها. ومعلوم أن الجانبولاديين تولوا حكم معرة النعمان وحلب وكأز وجاء منهم جنبلاط بن سعيد بولده رباح من حلب فنزل في بيروت سنة 1630 م بصحبة بعض رجاله مثل آل نصر الله في الجديدة وبني سليم في جباع من الدروز فتدبر مزرعة الشوف وغيرها، واشتهر بأنه الشيخ على تزوج ابنة الشيخ قبلان القاضي الوحيدة لأبويها، فورث دارها وأملاكها وأضافها إلى ثروته وأملاكه الواسعة وانتقل إلى المختارة وكان خصما للشيخ عبد السلام العباد فعرف حزبهما باليزبكي والجنبلاطي. وضمن قرى البقاع الغربي والشرقي من جسر مجدل عنجر إلى جسر برغز وكان يأخذ من المزارعين ربع الحاصلات واجبة ولاة الشام، فلما عاد إلى بلاده طلب منه مشايخ العداوة الدروز ووجهاؤهم شيئا من ضمانته فأعطى آل العماد قريتين جب جنين وكامد اللوز وآل نكد قريتين هما عيتا وقسما من جب جنين وآل أبي علوان قرية غزة وآل العيد قرية تل الأخضر وآل عطاالله قرية قب الياس وآل تلحوق قريتي قبر عباس والمنصورة، وبقي في حوذة الشيخ علي رباح جنبلاط القرى الآتية: ميدون ولوسا وعين التينة ومشغرة وعينيت وعين زبده وخربة قنافر وعميق وقلايا ولبيا وزلايا وسحمر ويحمر والشسية والمحيدته ومجدل بلهيص وجرن النخاس والدكوة وخبارة ومظلوم والقرعون وبعلول ولالا، فتقاطر إليها الناس ولاسيما الدروز واشتغلوا فيها بالحراثة والزراعة فبقيت البقاع بيهدهم إلى سنة 1860 م، ثم انتزعت منهم بعد ان حدثت في البقاع حوادث كثيرة بعهدهم. وممن اشتهر منهم في لبنان الشيخ بشير صديق الأمير بشير الكبير الذي انتقض عليه وصارت بينهما خلافات شديدة. ولهم اعقاب مهمة مثل سعيد بك ونسب باشا وعلى باشا وأولادهم وحفدتهم ممن خدموا الحكومة وعرفوا بوجاهتهم.

وذكر كثير من المؤرخين هذه العداوة ومنهم الدكتور مخايل مشاقة في ‹اقتراح الأحباب›. راجع: مشاقة، 1895، ص. 10.

المعلوف وبيت مكارم".[5] وكان جل هذه الأحداث قد حدث في أواخر القرن الثامن عشر وأوائل التاسع عشر للميلاد. وفي أواسط القرن التاسع عشر قامت عصبية بين الأميرين بشير عساف وبشير أحمد لتنازع كل منهما على حكم إمارة جبل لبنان وعرفت باسم "العسافي والأحمدي".[6]

وكثرت التحزبات بين الأفراد حتى في القرية الواحدة مثل أسرتي بيت أبي شقرا وبيت عبد الصمد الدروز في عماطور الشوف من جبل لبنان، وبقيت عداوتها مدة لا بأس بها من الزمن. وكذلك بيت القنطار الدروز من المتين (في متن لبنان) وأهل زحلة النصارى، والهلالي والأموري الدروز في قرنايل (من متن لبنان). وتحول ذلك العداء إلى الشؤون الدينية والجنسية أحيانا، فخلفه الحزبان المسيحي والدرزي في مواقع لبنان سنة 1841 و1845 و1860 ثم الأكليريكي والماسوني، وهكذا تتوارث الأحزاب وتتكاثر الأحقاد متطورة بأشكال مختلفة في بلاد تلونت عناصرها ومذاهبها ونزعاتها بألوان متنوعة.

نسب الأسرة المعنية

قال النسابة في كتبهم المخطوطة والمطبوعة إن منشأ الأسرة المعنية كان في بلاد نجد وديار ربيعة من شبه جزيرة العرب، وهم من سلالة ربيعه الفرس بن نزار[7] بن معد بن عدنان

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[5] راجع تفصيل ذلك في: معلوف، 1934أ، ص. 108–206 ومعلوف، 1934ب، ص. 115، ومعلوف، 1936، ص. 226، ومعلوف، 1911، ص.137.

[6] بعد ذهاب الأمير بشير الكبير إلى مالطة بالأستانة سنة 1841 م اشتد حكم لنبان إلى الأمير بشير المعروف بأبي طحين من الشهابيين ثم قسمت البلاد إلى قسمين قائمية مقام درزية وقائمية مقام مسيحية، فتولى الأخيرة الأمير حيدر اسماعيل اللمعي ولما توفي سنة 1854 م صار وكيلا عنه ابن أخيه الأمير بشير عساف نحو ثلاثة أشهر وعين الأمير بشير أحمد اللمعي قائم مقام وكان هذا يزاحم نسيبه الأمير حيدر على الولاية قبل وفاته فاتخذ له جزبا وصار للأمير بشير عساف حزب فاشتد العداء بينهما وامتد في أنحاء لبنان وكثر الاضطراب السياسي حتى اتصل بالدول العثمانية والانكليزية والفرنسية بعد أن حدثت الفتنتان الكبيرتان 1841 م و1845 م فمقبتهما مذبحة 1860 م المشهورة مما فصل التواريخ المطبوعة ومنها المحررات السياسية للمطران يوحنا حبيب مؤسس الرسالة اللبنانية، سنة 1911 (مخطوطات نادرة) وفيها المباحث المهمة بمجلد ضخم اتخذت رواياتهم عنه وقد شهدها بنفسه.

[7] قال القلقشندي في ‹نهاية الأرب›: "بنو نزار بطن من عدنان وكان لنزار من الولد أربعة منهم على عمود النسب مضر وخارجا عن عمود النسب أياد وربيعة وأنمار ولما حضرت نزار الوفاة دعا أولاده الأربعة وقال لأياد: هذه الجارية الشمطاء وما أشبهها لك، وأعطى ربيعة حبالا سوداء من الشعر وقال: هذا وما أشبهه لك. وأعطى القبة الحمراء لمضر وقال: هذه وما أشبهها لك. وأن اختلفتم في شيء فأتوا الأفعى بان الجرهمي ملك نجران فأتوه بعد موته وأخبروه بوصيته فقال لاياد: تلك الغنم البرش ورعاتها. وقال لإنمار: لك الأرض وما في معنها. وقال لربيعة: لك الخيل الدهم وما اشبهها – فقيل له:

المنتسبة إليه العرب المستعربة ابن آد بن أدَد بن اليسع بن الهميسع بن سليمان بن بنت بن حمل بن قيدار بن اسماعيل[8] بن ابراهيم الخليل من هاجر .. قال الزهري في ذلك: "كان لعدنان ستة أولاد معد وهو الذي على عمود النسب وعبل واسمه الديب وعدن وبه سميت عدن من اليمن وآد وأبي الضحاك والعني وأمهم مهدد ... الخ" وقال أيضاً إن مواطن بني عدنان مختصة بنجد وكلها بادية رحالة إلا قريشا بمكة ونجد. وقال السهيلي: "ولا يشارك بني عدنان من العرب في أرض نجد من القحطانية إلا طي من كهلان فيما بين جبلي سلمى وأجا ثم افترق بنو عدنان في تهامة الحجاز ثم في العراق والجزيرة. ثم تفرقوا بعد الإسلام في الأقطار". وقال القلقشندي: "وديار بني ربيعة ما بين اليمامة والبحرين والعراق"[9].

ولاحقاً اشتهر من قبيلة ربيعة الأمير أيوب[10] ببسالته ونفوذ كلمته وأعقب أحد عشر ولدا لم يكونوا دونه شجاعة وشهرة. فلما عظم شأنهم وذاع صيتهم حسدهم سادات ربيعة وسعوا

(ربيعة الفرس) وقال لمضر لك الابل الحمر فقيل له (مضر الحمراء) ورويت القصة على وجه آخر سمى به ربيعة (ربيعة الفرس) وسماه الكميت في شعره (رب الجواد ومضر أعطى الذهب فسمى مضر الحمراء). وأياد الجواري الشيب والأمتعة المختلفة فسمى أياد الشمطاء) وأنمار الحمير والمواشي فقيل له (أنمار الحمار). وسكنت ربيعة في جزيرة العراق وافتخرت بفروسيتها ونجدتها وبقيت (مضر) في الحجاز وافتخرت بفصاحتها وكانت بينهما منافسة وتحاسد فنبغ من مضر نبي المسلمين وصحابته وغيرهم. ومن ربيعة أبو القاسم الحريري صاحب المقامات وغيره". القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، ص 390.

[8] اختلف النسابة في نسبة عدنان إلى ابراهيم فمنهم من عد بين اسماعيل وعدنان عشرين ابا وخمسة عشر ابا ونحو ذلك كما قال القلقشندي في نهاية الأرب، ص. 234.

[9] القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، ص. 234.

[10] معلوف، 1934ج، ص. 24. يقول المؤلف: "من المعروف أن المعنيين كانوا مسلمين وأن أيوب هذا كان عربيا وفي مخطوطات خزانتي رسالة اسمها ‹قواعد الآداب في حفظ الأنساب› تشتمل على أنساب أمراء لبنان ومقدميه الذين نزلوه جاء فيها ما نصه". وأما نسب السادات الأمراء بيت معن فمن سلالة بني أيوب سلاطين بغداد وثغورها وحلب وثغورها والشوام وثغورها ومصر وصغورها وهم من سلالة الملوك من سلالة إدريس وعمارة حصن الأكراد. شغل أجدادهم والحلم والكريم لهم. جاء في نص المؤلف: "الأمير فخر الدين بن قرقماس بن معن الدرزي الأمير المشهور من طائفة كلهم أمراء ومسكنهم بلاد الشرف والصواب والشوف ولهم عراقة قديمة ويزعمون أن نسبتهم إلى معن بن زائدة ولم يصبت وكان بعض حفدة فخر الدين حكى لي عنه أنه كان يقول أصل آبائنا من الأكراد سكنوا هذه البلاد فأطلق عليهم الدروز باعتبار المجاورة لأنهم منهم وهذا أيضا غير ثابت فإنهم منشأ زندقة هذه الفرقة وكثرتهم الخ .. وذكر هذا الرأي كثير من المؤرخين فمن الفرنجية الأب اوجين روجه الفرنسيسكاني الذي اجتمع بالمعني وعامله ورأى كتابا وضعه في أسرته فقال في تاريخه الأرض المقدسة ما محصله: أن المعنى من سلالة ملك القدس غودفروا دي بربون فلما طرد الشراكسة

المسيحيين من الأرض المقدسة بعد الفتك بهم لجأ أمير من جدوده مع بعض المسيحيين إلى البرية في بلاد العرب ثم توطنوا في أعالي الجليل قرب نهر الأردن على مقربة من لبنان وتلك الناحية تسميها العرب (بلاد الدروز) فنسبوا إليها .. ونقل عنه كثير من المؤرخين وبعضهم قال أن الدروز نسبة إلى القائد دروز Dreux الصليبي مثل المؤرخ الروسي باسيلي في كتابه (سوريا وفلسطين) والسيد رستل هيبر في كتابه (التقاليد) وهما باللغة الفرنسية ونثل عنهم بعض مؤرخينا مثل الأب ارسان شكري الحلبي في رحلته إلى فرنسة في أواسط القرن الثامن عشر، وتطرق هذا الوهم إلى كثير من المؤرخين، راجع: افندي بني، 1881، ص. 266 و216 و218 .

ولكن المسيو بيجه دي سان بيار في كتابه تاريخ الدروز في لبنان بالأفرنسية فند هذا الزعم، وبين تلك المزالق مثبتا أن المعنيين عرب". راجع تفصيل ذلك في: معلوف، 1934أ، ص. 25.

أما بعض المؤرخين الآخرين فقد صرحوا مرارا بإسلامية المعنى فقال الخالدي في تاريخه المخطوط "إن المعنى بني جامعا في ليفورنة لإقامة الصلاة عند آذان المؤذن". وعاد جرجي افندي بني فنفى درزية المعنى في مقالته المطولة عنه بمجلة المقتطف (في المجلدين 26 و28). وقال ماريتي الإيطالي في الصفحة 45 من كتابه في تاريخ المعنى ماخوذة عن الكتاب ‹تاريخ الآداب العربية في القرن التاسع عشر والربع الأول من القرن العشرين› - لرزق الله بن يوسف بن عبد المسيح بن يعقوب شيخو: إنه مغولي، وقال عن نسيبه الأمير ملحم إنه كذلك. وهكذا نقل كثير من المؤرخين الواحد عن الآخر مثل هذه الروايات دون تمحيص، ثم قامت ضجة حول هذه الآراء حينما ظهر كتاب ‹فرنسا في لبنان› للموسيو رستل هيبر فانتقده المرحوم الخوري فصقفوس جرجس منش الحلبي في مقالة نشرها في رسالة السلام البيروتية وانتقدتها جريدة الصفاء الدرزية، وكتب الأب قسطنطين الباشا، رسالة في نصرانية المعني. وجمعت كلها مع الرد على جريدة الصفاء برسالة على حدة. فمن مطالعتها يفهم أن اختلاف الآراء بهذا الشأن يرجح أن المعنيين مسلمون عرب، كما صرح بذلك المؤرخون، وإن تعدد الزوجات لديهم وطلب بناء الجوامع في أوروبا وبلاد الشام وطلب إمارة الحج ونشرهم لواء حكمهم على المدن والبلدان الإسلامية وتوريثهم حكم لبنان للأمراء الهشابيين المسلمين وعاداتهم وأخلاقهم العربية وعلاقاتهم مع القبائل والأسر الإسلامية وتسمياتهم وغيرتهم على أقوامهم ومعاداتهم الأتراك كلها أدلة على صحة إسلامهم وعروبتهم

وأما نظرية نصرانيتهم فعلى الأرجح أنها ظهرت بسبب تربية الأمير فخر الدين عند النصارى واحتكاكه برجالهم ورسلهم وتجارهم، ولمكثه خمس سنوات في أوروبا ومعاشرة المسيحيين فيها وإخلاصهم له. وساد الاعتقاد بأنهم قد حملوه على التنصر سرا. ويخال أن نسبة الأمير فخر الدين إلى الدرزية هي لأنه كان في جبل الدروز أي الشوف حاكما عليها، ولأنه كان يتساهل بالشعائر الدينية الإسلامية أحيانا فيقرب إليه الدروز والنصارى.

ومن الشعراء الذين صرحوا بدرزية الأمير فخر الدين المعني بن محمد الطالوي الدمشقي لما مر بصيدا ومدح الأمير ثم أخذ الأمير مملوك الشاعر فكتب إلى شريف باشا وإلى دمشق يشكوا ويتظلم من الأمير بقصيدة قال منها:

ماذا لقى في ثغر صيدا من دروزي غوي

راجع: معلوف، 1934ب، ص. 27–41

بمناوراتهم وما زالوا على عدائهم لهم حتى أبعدوهم عنهم تشفيا، وبئست عداوة الأنبياء كما قال الشاعر[11]:

عداوة ذي القربى أشد مضاضة على المرء من وقع الحسام المهندِ

فهجر الأيوبيون بلاد العرب وساروا إلى العراق، فنزلوا الجزيرة الفراتية وتناسلوا وتكاثروا واشتهروا بهذا اللقب إلى أن نبغ منهم الأمير ربيعة الذي هجر تلك الجزيرة وقدم الجبل الأعلى من الديار الحلبية، فخيم فيه واشتهر مثل أسلافه. وخلفه ولده معن جد الأسرة المعنية المنسوبة إليه والذي تزوج بابنة الأمير نعمان التنوخي من معرة النعمان، وصار قومهما بذلك انسباء. وعرف معن باقدامه وشجاته فأرسله غازي أمير الترك لمحاربة بلدوين الفرنسي أحد ملوك الإفرنج الصليبين سنة 1119 م في الجبل الأسود (القارع) قرب أنطاكية، فاندحر الأمير معن وتمزق شمل جنوده قتلا وفرارا فالتجأ سنة 1120 م إلى طغتكين[12] صاحب دمشق الذي كان يحارب الإفرنج في ضواحي حلب، فأرسله بعشيرته وأحلافه[13] إلى سهل سوريا المجوفة [14] والبقاع وبعلبك. وممن جاء معه إلى تلك المناطق الأمير منذر بن حمية زمان التنوخي المتوفي، فخيموا في البقاع ولهم مع حكامه الجنادلة[15] مواقع عديدة. ولما عاد

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[11] أبو فراس الحمداني، *دورة، ص.* 112.

[12] غلط تشرتشل بك الإنكليزي في ذكر اسم الملك الذي أرسلهم إلى لبنان فقال إنه نور الدين والصواب طفتكين.

[13] قدم مع المعنيين كثير من القبائل العربية مثل بني عزام من جزيرة الفرات في العراق، ومنهم نشا المشايخ التلحوقيون المعروفون في لبنان. وقدم إليهم المشايخ النكديون المعروفون أيضا، فصاروا من أعوانهم وحالفوهم مثل غيرهم من السكان وهؤلاء قبلوا الدعوى الدرزية إلى غيرهم من الأسر ممن ذكروا في تاريخ الأسر الشرقية. معلوف، 1934أ، ص. 88، و1934ب، ص. 62.

[14] وضع لهذه البقعة التي تسمى وادي سوريا تاريخ مطول ضخم فصل فيه جغرفايتها وتاريخها ووقائعها وأنساب سكانها وحكامها، وحللت أسماء مدنها وقراها بحسب الأساطير القديمة لانتشار عبادة كثير من الأمم القديمة فيها، ولما شيد فيها من الهياكل والمعابد في سفوحها ومشارفها وأهمها هياكل بعلبك التي لم يشيد الانسان نظيرها في عظمتها وزخارفها وحسن هندستها وهو لا يزال مخطوطا نشتر أمثلة منه في مجلة المجمع العلمي العربي. (راجع: معلوف، 1921.)

[15] كان جندل بن قيس البقاعي من حكم البقاع الوطنيين ذا شجاعة وعقل وحظي عند الملوك الفاطميين حكام مصر والشام فولوه وادي التيم سنة 1100 م مع بلاد بشارة والشقيف، فشيد قرية في سفح جبل الشيخ وحصن قلعتها فسميت قرية قلعة جندل. ونشأ من سلالته الضحاك الذي تولى وادي التيم بزمن الملوك الأيوبيين في القرن الثاني عشر للميلاد وتولى أيضا لبقاع وبعلبك وغيرها. وعرفت سلالاته في بلاده باسم الجنادلة وفي خارجها بالبقاعيين، ومن المواقع التي جرت بين الجنادلة والمعنيين ما فصله مؤلف رسالة قواعد الآداب في حفظ الأنساب وهي من المخطوطات النادرة في أنساب بني

طغتكين إلى دمشق ذهب معن إليه وأظهر له ارتياحه إلى السكنى في هذه البلاد، فطلب إليه أن يترك السهل المذكور لشن الغارة على الإفرنج في الثغور البحرية، فعاد الأمير معن إلى قومه وسار بهم إلى جبل لبنان فغادرهم في صحراء بعقلين وصعد إلى عبيه مقر الأمراء التنوخيين أحلافهم وأصهارهم أيام كانوا في الديار الحلبية معا، فأكرموا مثواه وأسكناه وصعد به الأمير بحتر التنوخي أمير الغرب إلى ربوة المطير التي تعلو عن عبية نحو مائة وخمسين ذراعا، فاستشرف منها البلاد الواقعة إلى الجنوب الشرقي بين نهري الصفا والباروك وكانت قفرا بلقعا، فدله عليها بإصبعه قائلا له (شوف) بلغة العامة وهي بمعنى "شُفْ" أي "تطلعْ" فسميت تلك المنطقة بالشوف[16]. وهذه القصة يتناقلها قدماء اللبنانيين حتى الآن وربما كانت الكلمة أجنبية محرّفة[17] كما هو الحال في الكثير من أسماء مدن وقرى بلاد الشام، ولم يكن قبلهم مأهولا من الشوف إلا نواحي الغرب والجرد حيث أقامت القبائل التي قدمت لحراسة السواحل مثل التنوخيين وفروعهم الكثيرة.

فوارس وغيرهم من الأسر الدرزية في لبنان ووادي التيم، ذكر فيها المؤلف المجهول " أن سكان طيروش البقاع كان منهم أبو الخير أخو فهد وهم سبعة إخوة فقتل الدرغام من سبعل في البقاع أبا الخير وخفي أمره مدة ثم عرف القاتل وحصلت بين سكان القريتين ومواقع استثأروا فيها من الدرغام فقتلوه ثم أراد البقاعية قتل فهد اخي ابي الخير بموقعة دامية فعادوا القهقري وتركوا طيروش لكثرة الثلوج فيها بعد انقطاعها مدة طويلة". وقلعة جندل لا تزال إلى الآن قائمة وعلى عتبتها كتابة يونانية تدل على أن اسمها اليوناني (ساما أتي) وحولها مدافن يونانية مما يدل على مدينة يونانية كانت هناك قديما. وخرب القلعة نور الدين زنكي سلطان سوريا ومصر لما عصى فيها الضحاك وكف يده عن الأمارة سنة 1160 م، فكان آخر العهد بالجنادلة. وهدم هذه القلعة ابراهيم باشا المصري بالمدافع عند محاربة الدروز له، ثم رممها وأخذها معقلا لجنوده ثم خربها الدروز بهجومهم على عسكره ولم ترمم بعد ذلك. وهي في إقليم ا لبلان قرب راشيا الوادي، وتوجد قرية حارة جندل أيضا في الشوف، لبنان. راجع: الشهابي، *تاريخ* ص. 350، معلوف، 1936، ص. 266.

[16] الشوف دعي بأسماء كثيرة مثل شوف صيدا لأنه كان تابعا لها لمجاورته إياها ومنه عين زحلته وشوف الحراذين لكثرة هذا الحيوان فيه، والحرضون عند العامة هو الضب باللغة الفصحى ومنه عينيت في البقاع والشوف البياضي (غربي البقاع البياض، أرضه بركانية ومنه زحلة). وسمي أيضا جبل ابن معن وجبل الدروز وبلاد الدروز، ومن أسماء بعض نواحيه الشوفين والشويفات وكان في القديم يتبع مقاطعات الشوف السويجاني والحيطلي أو الحيطاني المناصف والشجار والغرب الأعلى والأدنى والجرد والعرقرب الأعلى والأدنى وكذلك المتن. تقي الدين ـ أبو شقرا، 1999، ص. 51.

[17] ترجح أنها سريانية بمعى السهل أو الخراب وبمعناها الشويقات والشوفين، أو هي تحريف الشندوفة السريانية وبمعنى الشوفة أو القمة اي رأس الجبل ونحوها. تقي الدين ـ أبو شقرا، نايل. 1999، ص. 53.

وهبط الأمير معن صحراء بعقلين حيث قومه وبعد أن استقر بهم المقام أسسوا بلدة بعقلين وجعلوها حاضرتهم، وتحضروا تاركين الخيام مستعمرين تلك الجهات بمساعدة التنوخيين. وربما كان من هذا اسم الشوف السويجاني تصغير السياج لأنهم اتخذوه حظائر لمواشيهم وخيامهم لمدة من الزمن. ويقابله الشوف الحطي لاتخاذ الحيطان في ابنيته، وقاعدته المختارة ولعله من هنا تم تداول تسمية الشوفين.

فكان المعنيون هم بالفعل من استعمر تلك المناطق الجبلية الخالية التي تقاطر إليها الناس لحسن جوارهم وكرمهم من مختلف أنحاء حوران ودمشق وحلب وضواحي لبنان هربا من الإفرنج، فأسكنوهم بينهم وأحسنوا معاملتهم. وبقي معن ثلاثين سنة أمير تلك القبائل المنضوية تحت لوائه وهم في الواقع اتباع له من ظله، وتوفي سنة 544 هـ (1146 م) وخلفه ولده الأمير يونس فحذا حذو والده في الدفاع عن حوزة عشائره وأحلافه واتباعه، فاستتبت الإمارة للمعنيين ومال إليهم الناس لاتصافهم بالأخلاق الكريمة والمزايا النبيلة. وفي أواخر أيام الأمير يونس المعني جاء الشهابيون من حوارن إلى وادي التيم فخالف كبيرهم الأمير منقذ الذي استظهر على الإفرنج[18] وطردهم من تلك الجهات، فأمره السلطان نور الدين زنكي سنة 567 هـ (1171 م) واستقدمه إليه الأمير يونس المعني سنة 571 هـ (1175 م)، فركب الأمير منقذ بألفي فارس من نخبة قومه وصفوتهم وساروا نحو تجريدات الأوّلي من سنة 1096 م إلى 1099 م والثانية من 1147 إلى 1149 م، والثالثة من 1189 إلى 1192 م، والرابعة من 1202 إلى 1203 م والخامسة من 1219 إلى 1221 م، والسادسة من 1228 إلى 1221 م، والسابعة من 1248 إلى 1252 م والثامنة والأخيرة من 1270 إلى 1291 م. وكان قوادها من الملوك والأمراء وهي قوات المدافعين من المسلمين، فاشتهر من قواد الإفرنج بطرس الناسك وغربته وكونراد وفريدريك بربا روس (الأحمر اللحية) وفيلبس أوغسطوس وريكاردوس قلب الأسد وبلدوين التاسع وفريدريك الثاني والقديس لويس التاسع، ونور الدين زنكي وصلاح الدين الأيوبي والملك الظاهر بيبرس البندقداري والملك الأشرف ابن قلاوون وغيرهم من قواد المسلمين.

وانتهت مجمل تلك الحروب بعودة الإفرنج عن الشرق بعد محاربهتم له ثلاثة قرون هي الحادي عشر والثاني عشر والثالث عشر للميلاد، فكان هذا الاحتكاك داميا ولكنه أدى بشكل عام الى استفادة الشرق والغرب أحدهما من الآخر، فنبغ فيهما ملوك ووزراء وعلماء

[18] راجع: معلوف، 1934ج، ص. 32.

وسياسيون وتبادلا الاختراعات وأسباب العمران والاجتماع واعداد المعدات الحربية وبناء الحصون وتجهيزها بالآلات للحصار والدفاع وما إلى الكثير من أمثال ذلك.

وكان لبنان في عهد الحروب الصليبية عبارة عن إمارات إفرنجية منها ما كان من أعمال بيروت وصيدا ومنها ما كان من أعمال طرابلس، فشيدت القلاع ورممت واشتهرت بذلك قرى مثل المختارة وبعقلين وجزين ودير القمر، وكثرت العلاقت التجارية بين كافة أنحاء البلاد وعقدت المعاهدات وبقي الكثير من الأسر الإفرنجية في جبل لبنان، ولهم بقايا بين الأسر اللبنانية حتى يومنا هذا. ومن أهم التواريخ لهذه الحروب بالعربية ‹كتاب الاعتبار› لابن منقذ و‹سيرة› عماد الدين الكاتب و‹أخبار بني أيوب› لجمال الدين الحموي، فسمي الباروك بالمَرْكع، وقيل إن ذلك كان بعهد التنوخيين الذين لاقاهم الأمير يونس المعني برجاله إلى تلك الجهة حيث أعد لهم وليمة شائقة وكان الفرسان يتسابقون ويترامحون ويلعبون بالسيوف والرماح على ظهور جيادهم وجمالهم والنساء تغني وترقص والرجال يتحدون بعضهم بعضاً، فكان مهرجانا غريبا في هذه البلاد لم تشهد مثله، فعم الفرح جميع تلك الضواحي ودامت الوليمة ثلاثة أيام بلياليها والناس يتشوفون اليهم. ثم سار بهم الأمير يونس إلى داره في بعقلين وكانت طيبة ابنته تستشرف ضيوفها من إحدى النوافذ فوقعت عينها على الأمير محمد بن الأمير منقذ، ووقعت عينه عليها كذلك فشغف بها وخطبها من والدها ثم زوج شقيقته سعادا بابن عم الأمير يوسف ابن الأمير يونس المعني وتمت المصاهرة بينهما. ومنذ ذلك الحين بدأ تحالفهما، ومن غريب النكات التاريخية أن أول تعارف الشهابيين بالمعنيين كان مصاهرة مرت عليها نحو خمسة قرون، ثم كانت المصاهرة بينهما آخر العهد بهم فخلفوهم في الحكم وكانوا ظهراءهم في حروبهم كما يتبين من الأحداث اللاحقة.

ومات في هذه السنة 571 هـ (1175 م) الأمير يونس المعني فخلفه ولده الأمير يوسف الذي مات عن والده الأمير سيف الدين، وهذا مات عن الأمير عبد الله الذي خلفه ولده الأمير علي ثم ولده الأمير محمد[19] فولده الأمير سعد الدين فولده الأمير عثمان فولده الأمير أحمد فولده الأمير ملحم، وكان كل منهم وحيدا لوالده يخلفه في الحكم.

أما آخرهم الأمير ملحم ابن الأمير أحمد فترك ولدين الأمير يوسف والأمير عثمان. وتوفي يوسف سنة 875 هـ (1470 م) عقيما وانحصرت سلالة المعنيين بعده بالأمير عثمان المتوفى سنة 913 هـ (1507 م)، فخلفه ولده الأمير فخر الدين والأول الشهير الذي دعا للسلطان سليم،

[19] وذكره الشدياق (1997 ص. 190) بزيادة اسم بشير بين اسمي الأميرين علي ومحمد.

وتوفي هذا الأخير سنة 951 هـ (1544 م) فأعقب ولده الأمير قرقماس الذي حكم بعده وتوفي سنة 992 هـ (1584 م)، وهذا بدوره أعقب ولدين هما الأمير فخر الدين الثاني الذي انحفر تاريخ المعنيين باسمه والأمير يونس. أما فخر الدين فقتل في الاستانة سنة 1045 هـ (1635 م) وأعقب أحد عشر ولدا، أبكرهم الأمير علي المولود سنة 1007هـ (1598 م) ووالدته ابنة الأمير جمال الدين الأرسلاني السمني شقيقة الأمير محمد، وأما زوجته فكانت ابنة الأمير علي الشهابي حاكم وادي التيم، والأمير منصور ووالدته جارية بيضاء وذلك بعد رجوع والده من أوروبة سنة 1038 هـ (1618 م)، والأمير حسين من ابنة الأمير علي سيفا شقيق يوسف باشا سيفا حاكم طرابلس سنة 1030 هـ (1630 م)، والأمير حيدر ثم الأمير بلك فالأمير حسن، وهؤلاء الثلاثة من ابنة الشيخ ظافر وشقيقة الحاج علي الظافري، وهي التي سافرت معه إلى أرروبة مع شقيقها وأولادها. وكان له ابنة اسمها ست النصر زوجة حسن بن يوسف باشا سيفا ثم ترملت وتزوجها شقيقه عمرو، وابنة أخرى اسمها فاخرة زوجة الأمير أحمد ابن الأمير يونس الحرفوش. وهؤلاء هم أولاد الأمير فخر الدين الثاني،[20] أما علي فقتل في موقعة حاصبيا سنة 1043 هـ (1633 م) عقيما وحسن قتل مع النساء من بنات الأمير بدمشق، وبلك وحيدر ومنصور قتلوا مع والدهم في الاستانة، وحسين الذي بقي وحده من سلالة الأمير فخر الدين في الاستانة[21]. وأما فيما يتعلق بالأمير يونس شقيق الامير فخر الدين فقتل سنة 1043 هـ (1633 م)

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[20] وفي بعض التواريخ أن للمعني الأمير مسعودا أيضا وقد حرفت بعض الأسماء وصححت في المخطوطات العربية والتواريخ الإفرنجية.

[21] رأى عيسى اسكندر معلوف خلافا كبيرا في التواريخ العربية والأجنبية في أسماء نساء فخر الدين المعني وأولاده فاعتمد على ما يلي في قوله:

والدته نسب توفيت في 15 ك 2 سنة 1633 م وامرأته الأولى ابنة الأمير يوسف باشا سيفا اصطحبها إلى بيروت وتزوجها سنة 1603 م، وفي السنة الثانية من زواجها ولدت الأمير عليا والثانية يجب أن تكون من سلالة أحد أمراء طرابلس تزوجها سنة 1605 م والثالثة كانت درزية تزوجها بعد بضعة أشهر وولدت له ابنه منصورا سنة 1606 وولدت له ابنه حسينا سنة 1607 وهارون والصواب حسنا سنة 1609 وحيدر سنة 1611. وفي نهاية سنة 1612 ولدت له ابنة تزوجت سنة 1624 بالأمير حسين بن يوسف سيفا ثم قال عنهم ما معربه: على قطع رأسه بصفد وحسين أسر وسلم للصدر الأعظم ومنصور وظف في الاستانة وبقي ولم يرجع لبلاده وهارون (حسن) وحيدر بعد موت أبيهما غرقا في البحر والنساء الأربع المأسورات في دمشق قتلن بأمر السلطان وحسين كذا الذي كان معهن ووضع في كيس وأميت. وفي روايات أخرى أن إحدى نسائه وبناتها اختبأت في لبنان وأخاه يونس الساكن في صور وقع في أيدي الأتراك وشنقوه بشجرة زيتون. وقال غولدنبروك إنهه كان في دير القمر فاستقدمه إليه أحمد باشا إلى صيدا وقتله، وقيل إنه قتل في الحرب مع ابن أخيه علي، ولكن ملحما بن يونس هرب وبقى

واعتقب الأميرين ملحما وحمدان. فملحم الذي توفي سنة 1070 هـ (1659 م) أعقب الأميرين قرقماس وأحمد، الأول قتله مدبر محمد باشا حاكم صيدا في عين مزبود سنة 1073 هـ (1662 م)، والأمير أحمد آخر حاكم من المعنيين في لبنان توفي عن بنت وحيدة سنة 1109 هـ (1697 م). أما بالنسبة لحمدان الابن الآخر للأمير يونس فقتل شابا وبه انقرضت سلالة الأمراء المعنيين.

وكانت ابنة الأمير ملحم شقيقة الأمير أحمد قد تزوجها الأمير حسين بن أحمد بن منصور الشمالي أمير راشيا سنة 1043 هـ (1633 م) الذي توفي سنة 1070 هـ (1659 م) عن ولدين هما الأمير بشير والأمير علي. وأما ابنة الأمير أحمد المعني فتزوجت من الأمير موسى بن منصور بن قاسم الشهابي وولد له منها الأمير حيدر سنة 1094 هـ (1683 م). وتوفي موسى سنة 1105 هـ (1693 م) بعد ان تولى حكم وادي التيم تسع عشرة سنة، فانتقلت بذلك إمارة المعنيين بحكم لبنان إلى أسباطهم الشهابيين. ولما كان الأمير حيدر قاصرا ابن اثنتي عشرة سنة وكان وصيه الأمير بشير حسين، تولى هذا الأخير حكم لبنان بطريق النيابة إلى أن بلغ الأمير حيدر سن الرشد فتولى الحكم[22]. ويعد حيدر جد الأمراء الشهابين في لبنان الذين كان أولهم الأمير بشير المعروف ببشير الأول، وآخرهم بشير الثاني المعروف بالأمير الكبير (المير الكبير باللهجة اللبنانية العامية) الذي ظل على رأس الإمارة الشهابية في جبل لبنان لأكثر من خمسين عاما ليكون بذلك عهده أطول عهد من بين كافة الأمراء الذين تناوبوا على حكم الإمارة، وهم أي الأمراء الشهابيين خلفوا المعنيين في حكم الإمارة سنة 1109 هـ (1697 م) وبقوا في الحكم إلى سنة 1257 هـ (1841 م) عندما سقطت الإمارة وانتهى النظام الإقطاعي في لبنان.

حيا. راجع تفصيل ذلك في كتب: معلوف، 1934أ، ص. 68 و310، و1934ب ص. 105، و1936، ص. 78.

[22] ابن شقيقه الأمير أحمد المعني وليس ابن بنت الأمير على بن فخر الدين وهناك رسالة تدل على الخلاف الذي وقع بين الأميرين صدر وبشير وحزبيهما القيسي واليمني وهي من أوراق الشيخ حرب الخازن في سهلة لبنان من سلالة الشيخ حصن وهي على الأرجح للعلامة المنسنيور يوسف الساعاتي الشهير صاحب المكتبة الشرقية وغيرها من المؤلفات النفيسة وهذا نصها العربي:

"إلى حضرة الشيخ نوفل الخازن المكرم أدامه الله تعالى امين هذه الشهادة في التلياني تتسجل عند قنصل صيدا واعملوا لها نسختين وأرسلوها للجميع (انتهت)"

هذا ما جاء في تلك الرسالة التي نشرها بالحرف كوثيقة تاريخية خشية ضياعها مثل غيرها من أوراق عهد المعنيين التي لم نقف عليها كلها لمصادرة الحكومة العثمانية للمعنيين ورجالهم وحلفائهم اللهم سوى أوراق قليلة. راجع: معلوف، 1934ج، ص. 35.

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A LEGACY OF ISLAMIC PRESENCE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN HUNGARY[1]

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0. As is well known, Hungarians have come into contact with Islam during several periods of their history, from the earliest ages up to the present, but the majority of the population in neither epoch embraced Islam. Islamic religion and culture, however, existed in the Carpathian Basin at various periods, and in this article I wish to examine the legacy of this presence, if any, in the Islamic manuscript collections of present day Hungary.

For this purpose I shall first give a brief overview of the institutions of Islamic learning, so that we have a general picture of what we should look for and what we can expect to find among the MSS, and then I shall endeavour to present the contents of the existing Hungarian collections against this cultural background.

1. Islamic learning: institutions and curriculum

"The history of Islamic institutions of learning is inextricably linked with Islam's religious history" – wrote George Makdisi (1981: xiii) in his pivotal study on the rise of colleges.

And accordingly, it is not surprising that the ordinary, everyday mosque, the *masǧid*, was the first institution of learning in Islam, and one which preserved its primacy as the ideal institution of disseminating knowledge. From the earliest times there is also evidence of the development of mosque libraries. The basis of which could have been the custom for authors to deposit copies of their works for reference in the mosque of their quarter or town.

The founder of the *masǧid* could decide and determine in the foundation document which one of the Islamic sciences should be taught in it. So, in the

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first centuries of Islam *masǧid*s also functioned as teaching establishments. They served as colleges for the Islamic sciences and their ancillaries, including grammar, philology and literature. Often a khan was built next to them as a residence for out-of-town students. Being highly meritorious and socially desirable, the founding of *masǧid*s was a practice followed by several men of power and influence. The professors usually also served as the imams of these mosques, and the mosques often became designated by the names of those who taught in them.

Bigger mosques also functioned as institutions of learning on a larger scale. The Friday congregational mosque (*ǧāmiᶜ*) had *ḥalqa*s, i.e. study-circles, in which the various Islamic sciences were taught. The existence of study-circles was common to all congregational mosques. They were led by professors specifically appointed to a certain mosque's study circle. In this sense a *ḥalqa* was a professorial chair. And this practice continued well into the 20th century, as is sufficiently documented in the case of the Azhar mosque in Cairo. According to the account of the Egyptian writer Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, who attended Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's lectures at the Azhar, "the content of Abduh's teaching did not depart in the slightest from the traditions that had been laid down. He used the most ancient and the most venerated of the classics as the basis of his teaching."

So the *ǧāmiᶜ*, besides being a place of worship for the Muslim congregation on Friday, with its Friday sermon, also supplied the place where the various Islamic disciplines and their ancillaries, including Arabic language and literature, were taught.

After the crystallisation of Islamic law in the tenth-eleventh centuries, the *madrasa* developed from the *masǧid* to become the institution of learning par excellence, in the sense that it was devoted primarily to the study of Islamic law, the most prestigious of the Islamic sciences and the most important for the community. This development, however, did not mean that the *masǧid* and the *ǧāmiᶜ* ceased to function as centres of Islamic teaching. The basic difference was the special focus on law in the *madrasa*, while the *masǧid*s continued to be the seats of other religious sciences.

Now the question remains about the exact nature of the sciences that could have been taught in the mosques.

From the beginning the Qur'ān was in the focus of Islamic sciences and the aim of all scholarly activity was the better understanding and interpretation of the Holy Book. The 9th century, however, was witness to a sharp change, since this was the epoch of great translations from Greek. Hereafter there was no escape from the influence of the so-called Greek sciences within Islamic sciences proper. Hence logic and the weapons of dialectic could not be disposed of by those well versed in law. So its study became a prerequisite for studying Islamic sciences.

Libraries from the outset collected works in all available branches of Islamic sciences which also facilitated the spread of non-Islamic sciences, like logic, mathematics, etc. while medicine was taught in hospitals.

Talking about libraries, it is interesting to note that the arrangement of books followed a hierarchic order and this order remained the same throughout the centuries. Goldziher in his *Report* (submitted to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1874) on books brought (by him) from the East listed the books in this order mentioning that "according to the Muslim custom which has become a rule to be followed, books should be piled upon in a manner that the Qur'ān should be on the top of the pile as it is the accumulation of knowledge. Directly underneath follow the exegetical works in a strict order: commentaries of the Qur'ān, works of Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīṯ*), law and *adab*, the latter in the widest sense, containing the knowledge of everything necessary for the cultured people, including lexicography, grammar and poetry" (Goldziher 1874:10-11). And indeed, this is the skeleton of the hierarchy of Islamic sciences, which has remained the curriculum of teaching until well into the 20th century.

For a model curriculum of Islamic teaching at the end of the 19th century we can take the example of the Azhar where subjects were taught in two categories. Subjects belonging to the first category were to be studied for their own sake. Here belonged:

- theology (*kalām* or *tawḥīd*)
- jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*)
- Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*)
- traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīṯ*).

Subjects belonging to the second category were to be studied as necessary tools for studying subjects belonging to the first group. This second group comprised:

- syntax (*naḥw*)
- morphology (*ṣarf*)
- the different branches of rhetoric
    - semantics (*maᶜānī*)
    - science of figurative expression (*bayān*)
    - embellishment of speech (*badīᶜ*)
- logic (*manṭiq*).

The 1896 reform of the Azhar added a few subjects to the syllabus without modifying its basic structure. To the first group: Religious ethics, Islamic history, Composition, Oratory To the second group: Arabic language, Arabic lit-

erature, Geometry, Geography, Terminology of Prophetic tradition, Arithmetic, Algebra, Prosody and Rhyme[2].

2. Islamic manuscript collections in Hungary

2.1 Minor collections

After this brief survey of the institutions and the curriculum of Islamic learning, let's turn our attention to the question of how Islamic manuscript collections were brought into existence in Hungary and what their relation is to the curriculum of the traditional Islamic learning system[3].

Apart from tiny collections of about ten Oriental manuscripts each owned by the Library of the Arabic Department at Eötvös Loránd University Budapest, and the main library of the same university, the Museum of Ethnography, and a private collection of texts and scrolls related to magic, there are two larger collections open to the public in Budapest, one in the National Library, and the other in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

2.2 The collection of the National Library

The Oriental manuscripts of the National Library were first described in two articles by Ignaz Goldziher in 1880. There – based on the evidence of lines inscribed in the manuscripts[4] – Goldziher states that the majority of the holdings were acquired by the new owners after the Turks had left them behind after their defeat in the Battle of Buda in 1686. Several of these manuscripts formed originally part of the *waqf* (religious endowment) of the congregational mosque of Buda as is evidenced by the possessor notes[5]. These MSS were subsequently donated by their Hungarian owners to the National Library. As there are altogether 91 Islamic MSS (39 Arabic, 7 Persian and 45 Turkish), this small number of surviving MSS does not allow us to draw any conclusions as to the exact content of that library or any other Islamic library in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries.

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[2] Cf. Mahmoudi 1998:22-23.

[3] A general survey of these collections was given by A. Fodor (1992).

[4] A characteristic remark is what can be read in a codex (Sign, 6 Quart, arab.) from the M. Jankovich collection: "Dieses Buch ist bey Eroberung Offen bekommen worden von denen Türken" (Goldziher 1880:105).

[5] Cf. eg. the following remark: "Donatus ad templum magnum Urbis Bodum seu Budám (!) in Hungária per sacerdotem ejus Schaichi Soliman Efendi" (Sign. 2 Quart, arab.) (Goldziher 1880:107).

2.3 The collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

2.3.1 The Muslim community in Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century

If we, however, turn our attention to the most significant collection of Islamic MSS in Hungary which is to be found in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, we find a completely different situation. There are three distinct groups of Islamic manuscripts in this collection, from among which our interest will be focused only on the Arabic ones. The reason for this is their provenance. The Turkish[6] and Persian manuscripts possessed today by the Library of the Academy can be primarily attributed to the conscious effort of certain scholars who collected these manuscripts in the 19th century, like e.g. Dániel Szilágyi[7], Áron Szilády, Arminius Vámbéry[8], and Alexander Kégl[9]. The majority of the Arabic manuscripts, however, originally belonged to the small group of Muslims who lived in Hungary in the beginning of the 20th century. According to the 1910 census, the number of Muslims living in Hungary amounted to 553 (from among them 179 had Turkish as their mother tongue and 319 Bosniac), not counting those living in Bosnia itself (more than 600,000)[10]. The majority of the Turks were students. Their first group arrived in 1909 led by imam ᶜAbdallaṭīf. The centre of their worship was the shrine of the 16th century Bektashi dervish, Gül Baba, which – after having been converted to a Jesuit chapel in the 18th century – regained its position in Islam as the northernmost centre of Ṣūfī pilgrimage after the dissolution of Jesuit order in 1773[11].

Albeit this small community of Muslims was divided because of the different ethnicity of its members, its existence was well known outside Hungary as is evidenced for example by the donation of books in 1935 in the form of inalienable religious endowment (*waqf*). The books comprising 13 titles in 64 volumes were donated to the community of Muslims in Hungary by a certain Ḥāǧǧ Yaᶜqūb ᶜAbdalwahhāb from Cairo. The text of the donation (**Fig. 1**) is printed in each volume and reads as follows:

> "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate
> I instituted an endowment of this book irrevocably to God almighty with a lawful and true donation. It cannot be sold, donated, changed, or exchanged.

[6] For a more detailed description of the provenance of Turkish MSS and their contents, see, e.g. Parlatir et al. 2007: 11-12.

[7] On the collection of this remarkable person, see Kúnos 1892 and more recently Sudár 2003 and Sudár & Csorba. 2003.

[8] Cf. Apor 1971.

[9] For his collection, see Szántó 2013.

[10] Cf. Léderer 1988:34.

[11] For Gül Baba and the Bektashi Order in Hungary, see Ágoston & Sudár 2002.

> I made its storage place the country of Hungary in its capital, Budapest, so that it be in the *zāwiya* of Gül Baba so that Hungarian Muslims and other Muslims who come to the above-mentioned town of Budapest benefit from it, at the care of his excellence, the *muftī* and *imām* of Muslims in the country of Hungary, Imām ᶜAbdallaṭīf efendi. After him the care should fall into the hands of whoever will lead the Muslims there."

These printed books – which survive in the library of the Arabic Department of Eötvös Loránd University – are a careful collection of the most important Islamic texts, comprising everything necessary from Qur'ān commentaries, (like that of the tenth century aṭ-Ṭabarī in 30 volumes) to *ḥadīṯ*, and collections of legal decisions.

2.3.2 Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the Academy

Prior to the arrival of these printed books to Hungary, and also parallel to them, the members of the Muslim community in Hungary, and in particular their imam, ᶜAbdallaṭīf, made use of MSS, since the beginning of the 20th century was a period in the Islamic world when people still relied on MSS in the field of religious studies. And indeed, we frequently encounter ᶜAbdallaṭīf's name or the name of other members of this community in the Arabic manuscripts of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Although the number of Arabic MSS is only 176 in this collection, the majority of them come from the small Muslim community that lived in Budapest before the Second World War. Imām ᶜAbdallaṭīf died in 1946 and the community was quickly dissolved in the post-war period not favourable in Hungary to any religious activity.

There are several collected volumes among the 176 MSS, containing two to nine works, so in reality the number of works is 291. Since the overwhelming majority of the MSS come from this community, we have a clear picture of the works they used. The frequency of certain types of manuscripts and oeuvres reflects very well the Islamic teaching curriculum as we have seen it in the case of the Azhar mosque.

Though the surviving manuscripts cannot be equated with the total holdings of the former Islamic community, we can still make an adequate assessment about the character of their MS possessions. It can be established, that most of the manuscripts that belonged to this community are late – usually 17th, 18th, 19th century – copies of works that were not collected but used by the community. So they were not valuable for them as artistic pieces of MS culture, but as texts that contain important information about their religion and the sciences necessary for its study.

It should be pointed out that although the mother tongue of the majority of Muslims at that time in Hungary was either Turkish or Bosniac, the MSS as well as the books donated by Ḥāğğ Yaᶜqūb ᶜAbdalwahhāb were all in Arabic, this being the language of religious studies in the Islamic world even at that time.

It is interesting to note that the largest thematic unit of Arabic manuscripts contains 83 works dealing with Arabic grammar (syntax and morphology). These are standard works in multiple copies (from two to seven) that formed part of the curriculum for the teaching of this discipline. The best represented author in this category is the 15th century Molla Ğāmī whose commentary – entitled *al-Fawā'id aḍ-ḍiyā'iyya* – on the 13th century Ibn al-Ḥāğib's *al-Kāfiya fi n-naḥw* is available in nine copies, only two of which were donated by Hungarian collectors. While Molla Ğāmī can be considered the most well represented author in the field of grammar, the second best represented is the 16th century Turkish imām, Meḥmed efendi Birgivi (1523-73). It may be interesting to note that also very late copies of his work, copied obviously for the purpose of learning, survive in the collection, like e.g. a copy of one of his grammatical works (al-ᶜ*Awāmil al-mi'a*, MS Arab 156) which was copied in Iskodra (Northern Albania).

Morphology and morphonology, the twin sciences of grammar, are exemplified by a popular work available in five copies in the collection. This is the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* written by a 13th century author, Ibn Masᶜūd whose fame rests on this composition (**Fig. 2**). Already in the 15th century, the Egyptian author of encyclopaedic works, Ğalāl aḍ-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, described it as "a famous concise book at the disposal of people"[12]. And this situation has not changed until the 20th century. This work is the fruit of some six centuries of studies in morphonology, and accordingly, although it is concise, yet comprehensible, so well serves the aims of the students of Arabic language. It has frequently been copied and bound together with four other shorter compositions in this field, like the *Taṣrīf* of his contemporary, az-Zanğānī, and three anonymous works, one of which (*al-Maqṣūd fī ṣ-ṣarf*) has popularly been attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa.

To this group we may add lexicography (*ᶜilm al-luġa*) which is present with only one manuscript (*Kulliyyāt al-ᶜulūm* by al-Kaffawī), and rhetoric (*balāġa*), represented by eleven volumes three of which are copies of al-Qazwīnī's *Talḫīṣ al-Miftāḥ*.

This linguistic group is closely followed by the group of manuscripts on logic (*manṭiq*). The 45 manuscripts that represent this group here are mainly al-Fanārī's *al-Fawā'id al-fanārīya* and its various commentaries. The author, al-Fanārī (1350-1431) – *qāḍī* of Bursa at a young age, later grand mufti of Istanbul – was a highly influential person in his age, and author of numerous composi-

[12] About the author's life, however, he could not find any data, cf. as-Suyūtī, *Buġya* I, 151, s.v. "Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. Masᶜūd".

tions. To this we can add another popular textbook from the 13th century: the numerous copies Aṯīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī's *Īsāġūğī* and its commentaries.

These two fields – grammar (in its broadest sense) and logic – represent the main subjects which belong to the second category of Islamic sciences which were to be studied as necessary tools for studying subjects belonging to the first group.

Two among the subjects to be studied for their own sake are present within the MSS in great quantity. These are jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām* or *tawḥīd*). In the second largest group of MSS we find 53 fundamental works of mainly Ḥanafī jurisprudence, the legal school of the Ottoman Empire, like *e.g.* several copies of the *Multaqā l-abhur* by the 16th century Ottoman *faqīh*, al-Ḥalabī. Theology also forms a relatively large group composed by 29 works on Muslim dogma. Taking into account that Gül Baba was a mystic, it is no wonder that we find several manuscripts devoted to Islamic mysticism

Imām ᶜAbdallaṭīf also had handbooks of *munāẓara*, i.e. theological-juridical dispute, without the mastering of which he could not have been appointed to this position. The main representative of this topic is the book of the 17th /18th century Sāğaqlīzāda together with its commentaries. A few MSS of the Qur'ān also found their way into the collection of the Academy's Library, obviously not reflecting the amount of copies which should have been in the possession of the Muslim community.

Other subjects are represented by an even smaller amount of manuscripts. The few number of *ḥadīṯ* works (altogether five works in three MSS) and Qur'ān commentaries (three works in three MSS) can probably be explained by the fact that these usually voluminous works had become printed by this time, so there was no need to use manuscript copies.

The majority of manuscripts show evidence of the fact that they have been studied and discussed under the leadership of Imām ᶜAbdallaṭīf. They are full of interlinear and marginal glosses, and sometimes even small slips of papers are put between the pages where these commentaries continue. So we can confidently state that this collection preserves the cultural memory of the Muslim community that lived in Budapest in the first half of the 20th century.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وقفت هذا الكتاب لله تعالى وقفا صحيحا شرعيا لا يباع ولا يوهب ولا يغير ولا يبدّل وجعلت مقره بلاد المجر فى عاصمتها "بودابست" ليكون فى زاوية (كول بابه) لينتفع به المسلمون المجريون وغيرهم من الوافدين المسلمين الى مدينة "بودابست" المذكورة بنظر فضيلة مفتى وإمام المسلمين ببلاد المجر الامام عبد اللطيف افندى ومن بعده يكون النظر لمن يولى رياسة المسلمين هناك ٤

الحاج يعقوب بك عبد الوهاب ابن المرحوم يوسف
بك عبد الوهاب ابن المرحوم عبد الوهاب افندى
المقيم بشارع منصور رقم ٤٢ بالقاهرة بمصر

يعقوب عبد الوهاب

رمضان سنة ١٣٥٣ — يناير سنة ١٩٣٥

Fig. 1. The *waqf* notice in the books donated to the Muslim community

Fig. 2. Ibn Masʿūd (7/13 c.), *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* (copied 1123/1711) Ms Arab O. 108, f. 4r
by courtesy of the Oriental Collection, Library of the HAS

IYYĀKA WA-L-MAS'ALA Z-ZUNBŪRIYYA ON A WIDELY DEBATED MEDIAEVAL GRAMMATICAL ISSUE

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0. Introduction

The *mas'ala zunbūriyya* ("the question of the wasp") is one of the most famous disputes (*munāẓara*) between the grammarians of Baṣra and Kūfa. It is already present in Ibn al-Anbārī's (513-577/1119-1181) *Inṣāf* (II, 702-706, *mas'ala* 99)**,** a collection of grammatical issues of controversy. It is mentioned in Ibn Ḫallikān's (608-681/1211-1282), *Wafayāt* (III, 463-465), in the biography of the renowned grammarian, Sībawayhi (ca. 140-180/760-796), and also briefly in Ibn Hišām's (708-61/1310-60) *Muġnī* (II, 54-75)[1].

Ibn Ḫallikān, on the one hand, describes it as an entertaining anecdote, emphasizing motives such as al-Kisā'ī (111-189/737-805, one of the most famous representatives of the grammatical school of Kūfa) being the teacher of the sons of Caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd (*Wafayāt* III, 464). Ibn al-Anbārī and Ibn Hišām, on the other hand, discuss the issue also from a grammatical point of view. Thus their observations are of great importance for scholars, since their analytical approach, in which the arguments of the two grammarians, Sībawayhi and al-Kisā'ī are presented one by one, sheds light both on the difference between the two grammarians' methodology and – in a broader sense – on the major distinguishing factors between the grammatical schools of Baṣra and Kūfa.

1. The story of the dispute (*munāẓara*)

According to Ibn al-Anbārī, the two grammarians, Sībawayhi and al-Kisā'ī appeared in front of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī[2], in order to entertain the grand vizier with their dispute concerning a specific grammatical question:

[1] See also az-Zaǧǧāǧī, *Maǧālis* 8, Yāqūt, *Udabā'* I, 85 and XVI, 119, as-Suyūṭī, *Ašbāh* III, 15.

[2] According to al-Muṭarrizī, it was Caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd's *maǧlis* (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* 388).

fa-aqbala ᶜalayhi l-Kisā'ī fa-qāla kayfa taqūlu kuntu aẓunnu anna l-ᶜaqraba ašaddu lasᶜatan min az-zunbūri fa-iḏā huwa hiya aw fa-iḏā huwa iyyāhā fa-qāla Sībawayhi fa-iḏā huwa hiya wa-lā yaǧūzu n-naṣbu fa-qāla lahu l-Kisā'ī laḥanta ṯumma sa'alahu ᶜan masā'il min hāḏā n-naḥwi naḥwa ḥaraǧtu fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi l-qā'imu wa-l-qā'ima fa-qāla Sībawayhi fī ḏālika bi-r-rafᶜi dūna n-naṣbi fa-qāla l-Kisā'i laysa hāḏā min kalāmi l-ᶜarabi…

"al-Kisā'ī turned to him asking: How would you say: 'I thought that the bite of the scorpion is more severe than that of the wasp**,** but, lo, this one is like the other (*hiya*).' Or: '…but, lo, this one is like the other (*iyyāhā*)'. Sībawayhi answered: 'this one is like the other (*hiya*)'. al-Kisā'ī told him: 'you do not speak proper Arabic'. Then he asked another question concerning the same topic: 'I went out, and lo, ᶜAbdullāh was just coming (*al-qā'im*). Is it with *al-qā'imu* or with *al-qā'ima*?' Sībawayhi said: 'One ought to use here the nominative case instead of the accusative'. To this al-Kisā'ī answered: 'This is not the way Arabs[3] speak'.

The debate was finally settled by Bedouins:

fa-daḫalū wa-fīhim Abū Faqᶜas wa-Abū Ziyād wa-Abū l-Ǧarāḥ wa-Abū Ṯarwān fa-su'ilū ᶜan al-masā'il l-latī ǧarat bayna l-Kisā'ī wa-Sībawayhi fa-wāfaqū l-Kisā'ī

"They entered the room with Abū Faqᶜas, Abū Ziyād, Abū l-Ǧarāḥ and Abū Ṯarwān among them. They were asked the same questions that were discussed by al-Kisā'ī and Sībawayhi, and they agreed with al-Kisā'ī."

2. The linguistic issue of the *mas'ala*

2.1 Two versions

The sources display the "question of the wasp" in two different versions[4]. These differ in the choice of nouns, the position of the masculine and feminine nouns, and in the gender of the infinitive (*maṣdar*).

– The sentence as given by Ibn al-Anbārī (*Inṣāf* II, 702) and Ibn Hišām (*Muġnī* I, 71):

[3] al-Kisā'ī uses the term "Arabs" referring to his Bedouin informants.

[4] In only two versions, since the quotations in the *Inṣāf* and the *Muġnī* are identical. This story, however, has a lot of different versions. A good example for this is given by al-Muṭarrizī in his commentary to al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*: "*kuntu aẓunnu anna l-ᶜaqraba ġayr az-zunbūri fa-iḏā hiya huwa am fa-iḏā hiya iyyāhu*" (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* 388).

kuntu aẓunnu anna l-caqraba (fem.) ašaddu lascatan (fem.) min az-zunbūri (masc.) fa-iḏā huwa hiya/fa-iḏā huwa iyyāhā

"I thought that the bite of the scorpion is more severe than that of the wasp**,** but, lo, this one is like the other."

– The sentence in the wording of Ibn Ḥallikān (*Wafayāt* III, 464):

kuntu aẓunnu z-zunbūra (masc.) ašadda lasᶜan (masc.) min an-naḥlati (fem.) fa-iḏā huwa hiya/fa-iḏā huwa iyyāhā

"I thought that the bite of the wasp is more severe than that of the bee, but, lo, this one is like the other"

One can easily see that while in the version of Ibn al-Anbārī the two feminine words (*ᶜaqrab, lasᶜa*) are followed by a masculine one (*zunbūr*), the two masculine words (*zunbūr, lasᶜ*) are followed by a feminine one (*naḥla*) in the account of Ibn Ḥallikān. Since in the sentence quoted by Ibn al-Anbārī there is only one masculine word, it is easier to see in this instance which word is referred to by the pronoun *huwa.* Meanwhile, in the quotation from Ibn Ḥallikān there are more than one masculine word, thus the object of the pronoun is not clear.

2.2 The pronouns after iḏā

Indeed, the debate of the two grammarians focuses on the pronouns. The major question they ask is whether one should put the 3rd person feminine pronoun in *rafᶜ* (nominative, *hiya*) or *naṣb* (accusative, *iyyāhā*) after the particle *iḏā*.

2.2.1 The Kūfan view

The opinion of the school of Kūfa as represented by al-Kisā'ī is that the second noun after *iḏā* should be in *naṣb*. He, therefore, finishes the sentence with "*fa-iḏā huwa iyyāhā*". The basis of al-Kisā'ī's argumentation is that he considered every linguistic data provided by the Bedouins (*samāᶜ*) as a possible source for analogical usage (*qiyās*) in sentences.

al-Kisā'ī followed the methodology of descriptive grammar not distinguishing between rare (*šāḏḏ*) and generally accepted (*muṭṭarid*) usage. He compiled data from Bedouin informants without distinction between well-known, interesting, trivial or odd information. His informants reported everything they heard from a trustworthy source. Consequently, even one example from a pre-Islamic

or Islamic poet's work was enough ground for him for a grammatical argument[5]. According to this principle al-Kisā'ī gave an example that is analogous to the case in question according to the Kūfan standards:

ḫaraǧtu fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi l-qā'ima (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* II, 703)

"I went out, and lo, ᶜAbdullāh was just coming".

al-Kisā'ī and the Kūfan grammarians claim that the last expression of the *mas'ala zunbūriyya* (*iyyāhā*) can be substituted by the term *al-qā'ima* on the basis of analogy, since both words are in the accusative (*naṣb*)[6]. They argue that the second pronoun is in *naṣb* because of the particle *iḏā*. They say that whenever this particle expresses surprise, it takes the meaning "*waǧada*" (to find), which ultimately attracts an object in the accusative (*naṣb*)[7]. According to the interpretation of the Kūfans, the particle *iḏā* is a regent (*ᶜāmil*) which exerts its influence (*ᶜamal*) on the predicate of the nominal sentence (*ḫabar*)[8].

2.2.2 An evidence?

The case ending "*-a*" of the structure (*al-qā'im*) on which al-Kisā'ī bases his argument is just as problematic as that of *iyyāhā* in his dispute with Sībawayhi. This can be inferred from aš-Šarīšī's commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *al-Maqāma š-Šīrāziyya* (No. 35)[9]. In his work al-Ḥarīrī says:

fa-lammā ra'aytu šawba Abī Zaydin wa-rawbahu wa-uslūbahu l-ma'lūfa wa-ṣawbahu ta'ammaltu š-šayḫa ᶜalā suhūmati muḥayāhu wa-suḥūkati rayyāhu fa-iḏā huwa iyyāhu (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* 387, aš-Šarīšī, *Šarḥ* IV, 169)

> "Now when I saw the mixture and tinge of Abû Zayd, and his wonted ways and manners of proceeding, I looked hard at the old man, with all his defacement of countenance and fulsomeness and lo! it was he himself" (Steingass 1898:72-73).

The text of the 35th *maqāma* ("*fa-iḏā huwa iyyāhu*") seems to support the opinion of al-Kisā'ī. The commentators, among them aš-Šarīšī and al-Muṭarrizī, however, rectify al-Ḥarīrī's words saying that the correct form would be "*fa-*

[5] Cf. Goldziher 1994:35: "According to [the Kūfan school], if we can find at least one example among the old poets or a form which differs from the usual rule, this single example is sufficient for somebody to follow it in writing or in speech in similar cases".

[6] The accusative is called *fatḥ* by the Kūfan grammarians, cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* I, 19.

[7] *li-annahā bi-maᶜnā waǧadtu*, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* I, 84, II, 705.

[8] Cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* II, 704.

[9] A. Fischer (1922:153) refers mistakenly to the chapter "*al-Maqāma l-Baṣriyya*" in his "unsere Satzfügung ja sogar in den Makamen des Baṣrensers…".

iḏā huwa huwa". aš-Šarīšī also deals with the supporting example given by al-Kisā'ī (*ḫaraǧtu fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi l-qā'ima*[10]), saying that the accusative ending of *al-qā'im* is not acceptable for the Baṣran grammarians. He argues that the accusative case of the word *qā'im* (suggested by al-Kisā'ī) is only in accordance with the radical opinion of the grammarians of Kūfa, who claim that the *ḥāl* (adverb of state or condition) can be definite. Sībawayhi, nonetheless, advocates an opinion, which was subsequently accepted by the school of Baṣra that refuses the possibility of a definite adverb of state or condition. It should be noted here that these later commentators in their explanation refuse the accusative on the basis of considering it *ḥāl* and refusing to accept that it can be definite following the Baṣrans whose views by their time became generally accepted. The Kūfans, however, did not explain this structure as a *ḥāl,* but as a consequence of the special usage of *iḏā* in the meaning of *waǧada*.

2.2.3 The Baṣran view

According to the analysis of the grammarians of Baṣra, however, the particle *iḏā* is not an *ᶜāmil* attracting *rafᶜ* and *naṣb*, but is simply followed by a nominal sentence with both of its parts (*mubtada'* and *habar*) being in the nominative. Sībawayhi argues along the same lines, when he finishes the sentence with the words: *fa-iḏā huwa hiya*.

Similarly to al-Kisā'ī the grounds for Sībawayhi's arguments are *qiyās* and *samāᶜ*.[11] The latter one is evidenced by the fact that Sībawayhi often introduces justifications for his arguments with the terms *samiᶜtu* (I heard), *ra'aytu* (I saw) *balaġanī* (it reached me)[12]. Contrary to al-Kisā'ī, however, Sībawayhi always considers complex syntactic structures, and so interprets the *iyyā* particle in the overall structure of language. Sībawayhi distinguishes three types of pronouns:

– the separate (*munfaṣil*)[13,]
– the suffixed (*muttaṣil*)[14],
– and one connected to *iyyā*.

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[10] See also Fischer 1922:155.

[11] Cf. Baalbaki 2008:35.

[12] Cf. Levin 1994:204.

[13] *wa-ammā ᶜalāmātu l-iḍmāri l-latī takūnu munfaṣilatan min al-fiᶜli wa-lā tuġayyiru mā ᶜamila fīhā ᶜan ḥālihi iḏā uẓhira fīhi l-ismu fa-innahu yašrakuhā l-muẓharu li-annahu yušbihu l-muẓhara wa-ḏālika qawluka anta wa-ᶜAbdullāhi ḏāhibāni wa-l-karīmu anta wa-ᶜAbdullāhi* (I, 343.6-9)

[14] *wa-ᶜlam anna ḥaḏfa n-nūni wa-tanwīni lāzimun maᶜa ᶜalāmati l-muḍmari ġayri l-munfaṣili li-annahu lā yutakallamu bihi mufradan ḥattā yakūnu muttaṣilan bi-fiᶜlin qablahu wa-bi-ismin fīhi ḍamīrun* (I, 795-797)

The three types differ not only in their form but also in their usage. The separate pronouns can only signify *raf*^{c}, the suffixed pronouns can take both the *naṣb* and the *ǧarr*, while the *iyyā* particle can only take *naṣb*. Since the use of *iyyā* and that of the suffixed forms overlap, Sībawayhi concludes that *iyyā* can be a sign of *naṣb*, when the suffix of object cannot be displayed[15]. In this case *iyyā* serves as a substitute (*badal*) for the suffixed pronoun (*muttaṣil*)[16]:

iyyāka ra'aytu wa-iyyāka a^{c}*nī*[17]

"It is you whom I saw and I [really] mean you."

atawnī laysa iyyāka wa-lā yakūnu iyyāhu

"They came to me, not to you, nor to him."

3. The theoretical background for Sībawayhi's interpretation

In order to understand Sībawayhi's position in his debate with al-Kisā'ī, one has to be familiar with two things. First, it is necessary to understand Sībawayhi's interpretation of what he calls *huwa huwa* structure, which in modern terms would be the identifying nominal sentence[18], and secondly, that Sībawayhi considers that the particle *iḏā* is not a regent (*ġayr* ^{c}*āmil*).

3.1 The huwa huwa *structure*

Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 333.20) begins the analysis of this type of sentences with the example:

qad ǧarrabtuka wa-waǧadtuka anta anta ... wa-l-ma^{c}*nā ... fa-waǧadtuka anta llaḏi a*^{c}*rifu*

"I tried [to recognise] you, and found that you were you. ... It means ... that I found that you were the one that I knew."

Sībawayhi's analysis starts with the *anta anta* structure. He establishes that the first one is the *mubtada'* (*i.e.* the subject of the nominal sentence), while the second is the *mabnī* ^{c}*alayhi* (*i.e.* the predicate of the nominal sentence). Consequently, the two clauses in the above example (a verbal /*waǧadtuka*/ and

[15] ^{c}*alāmatu l-muḍmarīna l-manṣūbīna iyyā mā lam taqdir* ^{c}*alā l-kāf* (I, 332.4)

[16] *lā taqdiru* ^{c}*alā l-kāfi wa-lā al-hā'i fa-ṣārat iyyā badalan min al-kāfi wa-l-hā'i fī hāḏā l-mawḍi*^{c} (I, 333.13-14)

[17] This is a linguistic example formed on the basis of the Qur'ānic *āya* (Q 34/24): *wa-innā aw iyyākum la-*^{c}*alā hudan aw fī ḍalālin mubīnin*, where the use of *iyyā* is compulsory.

[18] It should be noted here that Sībawayhi did not use the notion of sentence at all.

a nominal /*anta anta*/) are affixed to one another without any apparent structural relation between them. As a parallel to this sentence, Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 333.21) quotes another example (*wağadtuka wağhuka ṭalīqun* /"I found that your face was relaxed"/). He asserts an analogy between the two examples since they consist of two structurally separate clauses and the two final phrases (*anta* and *ṭalīqun* respectively) have the same syntactic function.

Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 334.1-2), however, also acknowledges the use of *iyyā* after a separate pronoun (*munfaṣil*): *wağadtuka anta iyyāka.*

In this case Sībawayhi says that anta is a *ṣifa* (attribute) to *–ka*, while *iyyāka* is an apposition to *anta*, like *ẓarīf* in the sentence *wağadtuka anta ẓ-ẓarīfa* ("I found that you were the one whom I knew as the witty one")[19]. This, however, is completely different from the usage of *iyyā* in the *mas'ala zunbūriyya* since there *iyyā* together with the pronoun (*iyyāhu* or *iyyāhā*) is the predicate of a nominal sentence (*mabnī ᶜalayhi* in Sībawayhi's terms).

3.2 iḏā

As we have seen, the *mas'ala zunbūriyya* contains two grammatical problems. One concerns the use of *huwa/hiya* or *iyyāhu/iyyāhā*, the second the role of *iḏā* uses to express surprise (*iḏā li-l-mufāğaᶜa*). Interestingly enough, it is the second problem which drew much more attention in the grammatical literature after Sībawayhi's age[20]. Two questions arise in this respect: (i) whether *iḏā* is a regent (*ᶜāmil*) or not; (ii) if not, when and in which position can a noun in accusative (*manṣūb*) stand after it.

As we have seen above, the Kūfans considered *iḏā* as *ᶜāmil*. According to Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 45.3), however, *iḏā* is a particle introducing a nominal sentence (*ibtidā'*): *wa-li-iḏā mawḍiᶜun āḥaru yaḥsunu fīhi ibtidā'u l-asmā'i baᶜdahā.* As an example, he puts: *naẓartu fa-iḏā Zaydun yaḏhabu* "I looked, and lo! Zayd was just going away".

Later Baṣran grammarians developed further the rules related to the use of *iḏā* expressing surprise. Let us analyse here briefly only al-Mubarrad's[21] views concerning the particle *iḏā*. In his *Radd li-Kitāb Sībawayhi*, he discloses 134 grammatical questions concerning which he does not concede with his predecessor (Bernards 1990:40).

The twelfth question of the treatise deals with the particle *iḏā*:

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[19] Sībawayhi adds that his explanation here originates from al-Ḥalīl.

[20] It is, however, outside the scope of the present paper to present the treatment of *iḏā* in all its diversity.

[21] al-Mubarrad died in 258/898, a mere one hundred years after Sībawayhi, which labels him as a member of the second generation of grammarians following Sībawayhi. His work is exceptionally enticing, since he was the first to openly criticize the Kitāb (cf. Bernards 1990:35).

fa-ammā iḏā l-latī takūnu li-l-mufāğa'ati fa-tilka taqaᶜu baᶜdahā l-asmā'u ... wa-ḏālika qawluka ḫarağtu fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi qā'imun wa-in ši'ta qulta fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi wa-taskutu wa-lā taḥtāğu ilā ğawābin (Bernards 1997:21-22)

"In case *iḏā* expresses surprise, a noun may follow (e.g. *ḫarağtu fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi qā'imun*). If you wish, you can also say *fa-iḏā ᶜAbdullāhi* ("lo, ᶜAbdullāh!"). Then you should not say anything else, because no further clause is needed."

Thus, according to al-Mubarrad, in case *iḏā* expresses surprise, not only a separate nominal clause (*ibtidā'*) may follow it, as stated by Sībawayhi, but also an independent noun. That is the *iḏā* of surprise does not necessarily need a complete clause. Similarly to Sībawayhi, he does not consider *iḏā* as a regent (*ᶜāmil*).

In another work, the *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad is more lenient. First he mentions the use of *iḏā*, stipulating that in standard use the noun following the particle ought to be in the nominative case (*rafᶜ*), but he also allows the accusative (*naṣb*) in the second part which he calls *ğawāb*:

wa-taqūlu ḫarağtu min ad-dāri fa-iḏā Zaydun fa-maᶜnā iḏā hāhunā l-mufāğa'atu fa-law qulta ᶜalā hāḏā ḫarağtu fa-iḏā Zaydun qā'iman kāna ğayyidan li-anna maᶜnā fa-iḏā Zaydun ay fa-iḏā Zaydun qad wāfaqanī (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 274)

"Or you could say: 'I went out from the house, and lo, Zayd was there!'. The *iḏā* particle here expresses surprise. If you then said: 'I went out and lo, Zayd was standing there' it would be proper, since 'lo, Zayd was there' means 'lo, Zayd was encountering me by chance."

Baṣran grammarians after al-Mubarrad's generation treat this question in more detail calling al-Mubarrad's *ğawāb* by a new term, *ḥāl*, and refusing the Kūfan view that *ḥāl* may be expressed by a definite noun (as we have seen it in al-Kisā'ī's view in the *mas'ala zunbūriyya*)[22].

4. Conclusions

The above analysis may have demonstrated two important facts:

1. Despite the apparent differences, the argumentation of the representatives of these grammatical schools displayed similar features. The basis of argumentation were in both cases *qiyās* and *samāᶜ*. A consequence ensuing from this was that both parties implemented some kind of descriptive grammar. Yet a differ-

[22] See the discussion in detail, among others, in Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* II, 702-706.

ence between the two schools is tangible in this respect. The representatives of the school of Baṣra were more stringent. They limited the circle of trustworthy *rāwī*s**.** The *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi contains 1050 *šawāhid*, out of which there are only 50 without a source[23]. This may attest two facts. The first is that even an anonymous verse can be ground for argumentation, the second is, that members of the school of Baṣra were extraordinarily strict in their choice of sources. The latter conclusion, in turn, points to two further observations. Firstly, that the members of the school of Baṣra were intent to stipulate the use of language. Secondly, as they were the ones writing the grammar books, they had to be pragmatic in their explanations**.** Based on the assumption that all human languages function according to productivity rules, a grammarian may formulate such examples that would become paradigms for an infinite number of existing sentences. This is further evidenced by Sībawayhi's occasional prescriptive remarks. His aim was not to stipulate the language of Bedouins but to teach his readers how to speak proper Arabic[24].

2. The verdict in the dispute was delivered by Bedouins who had thought that al-Kisā'ī was right. This shows that Bedouins were not only informants, but were also considered as authorities in grammatical questions[25]. Despite the fact that there existed no unanimous Bedouin language, only a couple of dialects, grammarians tended to consider the opinion of Bedouin speakers in grammatical questions worthy of attention. The reason for this inclination was that Bedouins were not only familiar with the dialect and language of ancient poets, but – contrary to the urbanized population of the cities – they conducted a similar way of living to their ancestors. They shared the environment of pre-Islamic poets. When travelling to the cities, the Bedouins naturally established relations with the urbanized population, but this had apparently little effect on their language, and they kept using their own dialect. To grammarians this dialect naturally recalled a higher standard of language, since Bedouins still implemented those short-vowel endings, which – as for the urbanized population – had not even survived into the 2/8th century [26].

[23] Cf. Goldziher 1994:36.
[24] Cf. Levin 1994:204.
[25] Cf. Blau 1963:43-46.
[26] Cf. Levin 1994:213.

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THE BODY PARTS OF THE HORSE IN THE ARABIC DIALECTS OF NORTH ARABIA AND EGYPT

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This article is a continuation of my earlier paper (Kutasi 2001) in which I examined the classical terminology of the horse. In this paper I investigate those terminological collections from the 19th-20th century which contain among others expressions about the body parts of the horse. From among these works I selected four which were relevant for my task, the vocabularies by W. Rzewuski, A. Musil, C. R. Raswan, and J. C.Watson. The first three collected data among the ᶜAnaza, the powerful confederation of tribes in the north of the Arabian peninsula, and primarily from the members of their largest tribe, the camel- and horse-herding Ruwala. Their vocabularies will be compared on the one hand to the classical terminology related to the body parts of the horse, and on the other hand to the words collected by J. C. Watson in Egypt.

In the following I shall present the modern Arabic vocabulary related to the body parts of the horse on the basis of these four collections. This will be followed by a comparative chart between the terms offered by these collections and those used by Abū ᶜUbayda, in his *Kitāb al-ḫayl*, the classical work which serves as the basis for comparison.

I have taken into account only those words which concern the body parts of the horse from among the terms collected by the four authors for comparison with their Classical Arabic counterparts. An asterisk (*) marks those words which are present in the vocabulary of Abū ᶜUbayda's *Kitāb al-ḫayl*. Terms given by Abū ᶜUbayda are put in parenthesis if their is a significant difference from the forms used in the dialects. A phonetic or a semantic difference between the Classical Arabic and the dialectal form is marked by a (~) sign. Terms are listed in strict alphabetical order according to the Arabic word.

1. Waclaw Rzewuski's collection

The Polish count, Wacław Seweryn Rzewuski (d. 1831?) collected his vocabulary from the Ruwala Bedouins grazing in and around Nağd. Because of his adventurous life, however, his manuscript written in French and entitled "*Sur les chevaux orientaux et provenants* (*sic*!) *des races orientales*" has until recently remained unedited. It was only published in 2002 under the title "*Impressions d'Orient et d'Arabie, un cavalier polonais chez les Bédouins, 1817-1819*".

This voluminous work of about 700 printed pages, however, is much more than a mere list of terms. It contains highly detailed descriptions of the best Arabian horses, their sizes, pedigree data, markings and colourings. It describes sightings of the best examples of a breed. There are also descriptions of the methods of taming and working with Arabian horses, as well as breeding them. His interest extended also to the Arabian Peninsula and the Arabs themselves, whom he admired. Before turning his attention to the horses which takes up most of the book, he describes the life in the desert, the illnesses, the desert wind, the Meccan caravans, the Druzes, the Turks, and the Tatars, side by side with contemporary historic events.

The life of this count was quite extraordinary[1]. He was born into a rich noble family north of the Black Sea in Savran' between Kiev and Odessa. His family was one of the most ancient and influential families of Podolia. So it is no wonder that his father wanted him to become a diplomat. His enthusiasm for Arabian horses and the Bedouin world began in his childhood, on hearing stories from people returning from Arabia and North Africa. In this he was greatly influenced by his uncle, the celebrated traveller Count Jan Potocki (1761-1815). Later he took up Oriental studies in the University of Vienna. By the time he was 27, Rzewuski became a cavalry officer in the Austrian army and as such, he took part in the Napoleonic wars.

He inherited a large property from his father including a stud farm and because of his passion for horses he wanted to develop it himself, instead of sending emissaries as was usual for the Polish nobility at that time. He, however, lacked the means for such an undertaking. The year 1815 meant not only the end of Napoleonic wars, but also a possibility for Rzewuski to realise his dream. He presented the project of his expedition to the Russian Tsar, Alexander I, and his sister, Grand Duchess Catherine Pavlovna of Russia**,** the Queen of Württemberg who wanted him to purchase Arabian horses (from the

[1] For a detailed account of his life, see Daszkiewicz 2002. See also Kapliński 1881, Brzoza 1969, and Ostrowski 1986.

breed of *kuḥaylān*) to establish the Weil Stud[2]. They approved of his plan, so he was able to start preparations for his expedition. With their financial help he left Podolia at the end of 1817 with a small group of about fifteen people. At the end of the expedition they brought back 137 horses (stallions and 35 mares) from Nağd with a detailed list showing their pedigrees. Between the year 1818 and June 1820 (when he finally returned home) he built up an excellent relationship with the Bedouins whose life he shared during this time. His skill in horses also grew more and more and the Bedouins of Nağd called him *Amīr Tāğ al-Faḫr* in recognition of his knowledge. The costs of his expedition, however, were far greater than the revenue, so he ran into debts and had to leave the territory.

His death became a legend according to which he disappeared in a battle**,** riding on his favourite Arabian stallion *Muḫtār-Tāb*. According to a romantic poem about him, he did not die, but returned one night to his fields, let out his horses, and flew with them toward the steppes, over the Caucasus, to the deserted grazing grounds[3]. After his death, the tsar's police confiscated his library including his manuscripts. His pivotal work on the Bedouins and the Arabian horse survived because Rzewuski had lent it to one of his friends, so the manuscript finally ended up in the National Library of Poland. His horses were also sold on auctions to different studs.

The words in the following table have been gleaned from Rzewuski 2002.

1.	Ears. * ~ (أذُن)	أذين
2.	Arch of eye.	ارز العينين
3.	Mane.*	اشعار، معرفة
4.	Lower thighs. * ~ (فَخِذ، أفْخاذ)	أفحاد
5.	Back of nose.	افطسا
6.	Region of shoulder. *	أكتاف
7.	Region of sexual organs.	امس الركب، ركب
8.	Belly. *	بطن
9.	Forehead. *	جبهة
10.	Sides.*	جوانب، أجناب
11.	Withers. * ~ (حارك)	حاركة
12.	Hoof. *	حافر

[2] Founded in 1817 at Esslingen by King Wilhelm I of Württemberg for the purpose of breeding Arabian horses.

[3] Cf. Harrigan 2001. The popularity of Rzewuski and his ideas is well shown by Adam Mickiewicz's poem, entitled *Farys*, written in his honour around 1828.

13.	Temple.	حزين
14.	Teeth.	حفود
15.	Jaw. Region of the outer masseter * (soft palate)	حنك
16.	Forearm. *	ذراع
17.	Tip of the jaw.	ذقن
18.	Hind legs. * ~ (رجْلان)	رجلين، صلبين
19.	Head.*~ (رأس)	رس
20.	Front part of the neck. (from the throat to the breast)	رقبة
21.	Fore knee. *	ركبة
22.	Upper thighs. * (زُرّ – back part of the croup)	زرّ
23.	Upper part of breast.* ~ (lower part of the breast, sternum, place of the first six ribs)	زور
24.	Long hairs of the tail. * ~ (ذيْل)	زيل
25.	Fore cannon. * ~ (lower thigh)	ساق
26.	Anus. * (أست)	سة
27.	Groins, flank. * ~ (loins)	شاكلة
28.	Flexor tendon. *	شظا
29.	Hair of pastern.	شعر القين
30.	Breast.*	صدر
31.	Frog(s). * ~ (navicular bone)	ضفادع
32.	Neck, from the breast up to the throat. *	ظهر
33.	Achilles tendon. *	عرقوب
34.	Back part of the croup. * ~ (sinew, tendon, nerve)	عصب
35.	Bone of tail.	عصعص
36.	Upper lip.	علمة
37.	Eyes. * ~ (عينان)	عينين
38.	Ankle, fetlock joint.	قين
39.	Neck, from the breast up to the throat. Cf. رقبة	كرد
40.	Heel. * ~ (hock)	كعب
41.	Croup.*	كفل
42.	Forelock.	كولة
43.	Tonsils.	لوزتين
44.	Tongue. * ~ (لِسان)	ليسان
45.	Region of eye.	محجر
46.	Two elbows. *	مرفقين
47.	Flexor tendon.	مشنّن
48.	Side of the neck.	معوّذة
49.	Pastern. * ~ (joint)	مفصل
50.	Nostrils.* ~ (مَنْخِران)	منخرين
51.	Breast. * ~ (upper part of the neck, throat)	نحر

52.	Region of larynx. * ~ (vein)	وريد
53.	Fore legs. * ~ (يدان)	يدين

2. Alois Musil's collection

The Czech explorer, Orientalist and author Alois Musil (1868-1944) who later became the professor of Oriental Studies at Charles University, Prague, lived together with the Ruwala, "the only true Beduin tribe of northern Arabia" (Musil 1928:xiii), for months in 1908[4]. During this time he studied their life and noted down not only their customs but also a large vocabulary. This latter contains ample material concerning the horse from which the following selection is relevant to the body-parts of the horse.

1.	Muscles behind shoulders. * ~	أباهِر
2.	Ear. * ~ (أُذُن)	إذْن
3.	Upper lip.	بُرْطُم
4.	Belly. *	بَطْن
5.	Knee. *	ثَفْنَة
6.	Forehead. *	جَبْهَة
7.	Side. *	جَنْب
8.	Shoulder, withers. * ~ (withers)	حارِك
9.	Hoof. *	حافِر
10.	Hollow above eye.	حِجْرَة العين
11.	Horseshoe. *	حِذاء
12.	Jaw. *	حَنَك
13.	Testicles. * ~ (خُصْيَتان)	خُصْيان
14.	Udder.	دَيْد
15.	Fore cannon. * ~ (forearm)	ذِراع
16.	Rein. *	رَسَن
17.	Neck.	رُقُبَة
18.	Fore knee.*	رُكْبَة
19.	Penis.	زِبّ
20.	Centre of the forehead.	ساعِد
21.	Hair of tail.*	سَبيب
22.	Navel.*	سُرَّة، سِرّ
23.	Labia pudendi. (Part of sexual organ of a mare.)	سَقْف
24.	Noseband.	سِكيمَة، رَشْمَة

[4] For a detailed account of his life, see Bauer 1991.

25.	Groins, flank. * ~ (loins)	شاكِلَة
26.	Teats.	شْطور
27.	Breast. *	صَدْر
28.	Root of ear.	صَرْصور الإذن
29.	Sexual organs of a stallion.	طَيْس
30.	Sexual organ of a mare. *	ظَبْوَة
31.	Back.*	ظَهْر
32.	Back part of fetlock joint.	عَذِمَة
33.	Hock. * ~ (عُرْقوب – the hock as a whole with the Achilles tendon)	عَرْقوب
34.	Tip of the nose. * ~ (أَرْنَبَة)	عَرْنونَة
35.	Chestnut.	عُفَيْنَة
36.	Frog.	عُفَيْنَة الحافر
37.	Dock. * ~ (عُكْوَة الذيل)	عُكْرَة الذيل
38.	Lower lip.	عَلَمَة
39.	Eye. *	عين
40.	Occiput.	فاعوس
41.	Thigh. * ~ (فخِذ)	فَخَذ
42.	Forelock.	قُصَّة
43.	Back part of croup above the tail.*	قَطاة
44.	Pastern.	قين
45.	Hind cannon.	كْراع
46.	Elbow.	كوُع
47.	Standing far apart between the forelegs.	مَبْطِن
48.	Ankle, fetlock joint.	مْحَدَّدَة
49.	Tear duct.	مِدامَة العين
50.	Backward parts.	مِرْوَة
51.	Curb chain.	مْشَكَّم
52.	Point of croup.	مْصَمَّة
53.	Mane. * ~ (معَرَفَة ، عُرْف)	مَعارَف
54.	Hairs on coronet.	مَقَطّ الشعر
55.	Nostril.*	مِنْخَر
56.	Hairs on back part of fetlock joint.	نُقَيْرَة
57.	Croup. * ~ (وَرِك)	وَرْك
58.	Vein at the throat.*	وَريدَة

3. Carl R. Raswan's collection

Carl R. Raswan (1893-1966), an adopted member of the Ruwala tribe, was devoted to horses from childhood upward, and was in love with the Arabian Breed even before his first trip to the Middle East, when he was only seventeen. Between then and the outbreak of World War II he studied Arabians all over Europe, the Americas, and the Middle East, especially in Arabia. He gathered terms of Arabic hippology over a period of twenty-six years during his association with nineteen Bedouin tribes, with whom he migrated in Syria, Iraq, Kuwayt, Transjordania, and the provinces of Hiğāz, Nağd and Qasīm. During these years he shared the life of the same great tribe, the ᶜAnaza, which welcomed Rzewuski a hundred years earlier. In addition to the ᶜAnaza, he also collected material from other camel- and horse-breeding tribes of the desert, like the Šammar (Šimmar), Muṭayr, ᶜAğmān, Ḥarb and ᶜAtayban. His expertise and interest in horse breeding made him directly responsible for the foundation of some of the most important stud farms in America. He is also the author of several reference and adventure books. Though not an Arabist, he quickly realised the significance of his collection of Arabic terms of hippology, and thus decided to publish them in 1945, "duly alive to certain inadequacies"[5].

The following table contains the relevant words from his collection. Although he supplied the words in transliteration, too, this has not been entered into the present table.

1.	(Upper) arm (of a horse).[6] * ~ (أبهَران)	أباهِر
2.	Straight, or slightly convex (Roman) facial profile. Cf. *afnas*.	أخْنَس
3.	"Hand" (foreleg). * (يَد)	إد
4.	"Ear" of a horse. * ~ (أُذُنان)	إذِن
5.	Thigh.	أزْقر
6.	Ribs*	أضْلاع

[5] Cf. Raswan 1945:97.

[6] The أبهر means "artery; aorta", أبهران means "the two arteries of the heart" (see e.g. Hava 1964:49). According to Abū ᶜUbayda (*Hayl* 139-140) this word is used in the dual to mean two creases or bunches of muscle at the bottom of the belly, which connect to centre of *zawr* and go along the lower side of the ribs to the last two ribs. The heart is in the place of *zawr* (sternum) between the third and the sixth ribs. This is also the place of the upper arm which might have been the reason why Raswan gave it this meaning. Perhaps the Bedouins wanted to explain to him this special place behind the upper arm, like in the verse of Bišr (Ibn Qutayba, *Maᶜānī, kitāb al-faras* 138):

على كل ذي مَعْيَةٍ سابح يُقَطّع ذو أبْهَرَيْه الحزاما

On every hot tempered (horse) there is a "floating" (person) tears with its two sides the girth.

7.	The characteristic concave profile of face (dish face) of the Arabian horse, the gazelle profile. Cf. *a<u>h</u>nas.*	أَقْنَس
8.	Shoulder blades. See *lūḥ*.	أَلْواح
9.	Nose.* See *marsan*.	أَنْف
10.	Upper lip (proboscis) of a horse.	بُرْطُم
11.	Lower thigh of a horse. * ~ (ثَنَة –knee)	ثَنْثَة
12.	Shield-like forehead, typical of the Arabian horses.	جِبْهَة
13.	Wide, bulging forehead.	جِبْهَة نَطّا
14.	Forehead. See *ğibha** ~ (جَبْهَة –part of forehead under ears)	جَبِيحَة
15.	“Side” of a horse, the “barrel”.* ~ (جَنْب)	جَمْب
16.	Part of the neck to which the amulet is fastened.[7] * (جران –crease at the throat)	جيران
17.	The place on her body which the mare is able to reach with the tip of her tail.	جَيرَة
18.	Shoulder of a horse. * ~ (withers)	حارِك
19.	Digger, spade, the hoof of a horse.*	حافِر
20.	Back (the part which carries the rider). * (صَهْوَة)	حال
21.	Eyelashes of a horse.	حِجْرَة العين
22.	Great width (depth) of the unclicked jawbones. See also *hanak.*	خَبْرَة
23.	Testicles of the stallion. * ~ (خُصْيَتان)	خُصِيان
24.	“Udder” (of a mare).	دَيْد
25.	“Tail”of a horse. (also a desert plan) * (ذَنْب)	ذَنَب
26.	Elbow.	ذِراع
27.	Cannon bone (of a horse). * ~ (forearm)	ذِراع
28.	“Backbone”(vertebrae) of a horse. The name of ᶜAlī’s famous sword.	ذو الفَقار
29.	“Tail” of a horse, in Classic Arabic *<u>d</u>anab.*	ذَيْل
30.	Head. *	رأس
31.	Kneecap. * ~ (داغِصَة)	راغِضَة
32.	Hind leg. * (رِجْل)	رِجْلَة
33.	Pastern. * ~ (رُسْغ)	رَسَخ
34.	Withers of a horse.	رَقَبَة
35.	Side of a neck of a horse.	رُقَبَة

[7] The amulets could be fastened to many different places on the horse. Perhaps the place for the amulet at the throat is where the throatlash is. This place is also mentioned in the classical literature, but with another word: *sālifa*, *i.e*. the place of collar, the upper part of the neck to the ear bones.

36.	Knee. * ~ (رُكَبَة – knee of fore leg)	رَكَبَة
37.	"Knee" of a horse.*~(knee of the fore leg)	رُكَبَة
38.	The broad head of a horse viewed from the front.	رُمَّة
39.	Froth, saliva.	رُوال
40.	Penis (of the stallion) See also *ṭays*.	زِبّ
41.	Deep forehead. Cf. *safā.*	سَبوُع
42.	Tail of a horse.*	سِبِيب
43.	Forelock. * ~ (سَبيب)	سَبِيبَة
44.	Middle of *ğibhe* seen from front[8].	سَعِد
45.	Narrow forehead.	سَفِيَ
46.	"Sword" the long hair of the tail of a horse.*	سَيْف
47.	"Flank" of a horse.*	شاكِلَة
48.	"A span", the width between the jowls of a horse. *šibrayn* two spans, across her forehead (from extreem corners of the eyes)	شِبْرَة
49.	Throat.	شَرْفات
50.	"Teats" of the mare.	شْطور
51.	Lower part of knee.*	شَظي
52.	"Thorn" the spine of a horse.	شَوك
53.	Breast.*	صَدْر
54.	Temple.	صَدَع
55.	A "well placed flank".	صَقَل
56.	Point of croup. * ~ (top of croup on both sides of the dock)	صَلا
57.	Haunch. * ~ (صُلْب – vertebra)	صَلْب
58.	"Path", the deep seam on the back of an Arabian horse, both sides of the furrow well muscled.	طَرِيقَة
59.	(Plural) Cannonbones. Often ones hears the word *waẓīf* used for cannon bone, but *waẓīf* is the correct term for the gaskin (the part of the leg *above* the hock)	طِفَذ
60.	Sexual organs of the stallion.	طَيْس
61.	Sexual organ of the mare.*~(ظَبِيَّة الأُنثى)	ظَبْوَة
62.	Back of a horse.*	ظَهْر
63.	"Heel", (the correct word anatomically speaking) for the hock of a horse	عَقَب
64.	"Feather" (hairs) on the fetlock of a horse	عَذِمَة

[8] Double *ğibhe* (shieldlike protrusion) on a very wide forehead. Named after the two curls of hair on the bulges (regarded by superstitious people as good omen). See *sâ^{c}id* (Raswan1945: word No. 813)

65.	“Hock” (of a horse)* ~ (عُرْقوب –Achilles tendon and hock together)	عَرْقوب
66.	Muzzle (of a horse).* ~ (أرْنَبَة – tip of the nose)	عَرْنونَة
67.	Hair on pasterns.[9]* (أشْعر)	عَشْعار
68.	Muscles.	عَصْلات
69.	Forearm * ~ (عَضُد – upper arm)	عَضَد
70.	Root of tail.	عَضَم
71.	Chestnut.	عُفَيْنَة
72.	“Frog”, inner part of the hoof.	عُفَيْنَة الحافر
73.	“Dock” the root of a horse’s tail. * ~ (عُكْوَة الذَيْل – dock)	عُكْرَة الذَيْل
74.	“Lower lip” of a horse.	عِلِمَة
75.	Neck.	عَنْف
76.	Neck. * (عُنُق)	عَنْق
77.	“Poll” of a horse.	فاعُوس
78.	Standing far apart between the forelegs (plenty room between the forearms).	فحجة بين رجلين
79.	Haunch of a horse * ~ (فَخِذ – upper thigh)	فَخَذ
80.	Upper lip (proboscis).	فِنْسَة
81.	Distance between hips.	قرَق
82.	“Horns” the plaits braided into the mane of a horse.	قَرْن
83.	Long neck.	قُرُوج
84.	Foretop of a horse.	قُصَّة
85.	The fleshy part of the croup on both sides of the dock (root) of the tail. * ~ (قَطاة – place on the horse’s back behind the rider).	قَطا
86.	Crest of the mane.	قفا
87.	Heart. *	قَلْب
88.	Little ears.	قَنَف
89.	“Roman” (nose).	قنيِ
90.	A conical hill, the bulging forehead between the eyes of an *aṣīl* (noble) mare.	قِنَّة
91.	*Qinnatayn* are two high protuberances on the forehead of a horse.	قِنَّتَيْن
92.	Withers. *	كاهَل الحارك
93.	Liver. * (كَبِد)	كَبَد
94.	Shoulder. * (كَتِف، أكْتاف)	كَتاف
95.	“Shank” of a horse.	كِراع

[9] This word in plural and appeared among the classical Arabic words. The beginning *ᶜayn* instead of *hamza* is a dialectal feature.

96.	Chest. * ~ (Part of the chest, which touches the ground at lying of an animal (camel, horse.)	كَلْكَل
97.	Small nipples of the udder.	كماش
98.	Elbow of a horse.	كُوع
99.	Shoulder blade.	لوُح
100.	“Brisket”, the part under the chest between the forearms of a horse.	مَبْطِن
101.	The curved throat (where the windpipe enters between the jowls), one of the eight distinctive and very characteristic points of the pure Arabian horse* (مَذبَح)	مَذْبَح
102.	Wide-sprung ribs. (big “barrel” chest)	مَجْفَر الأضْلاع
103.	“Pasterns”of a horse.	مُحَدَّدَة
104.	Eye gland of a horse.	مِدامِع العين
105.	Nose. See *anf* * ~ (مَرْسِن – place of noseband)	مَرْسَن
106.	Chin groove of a horse.	مَشْكَم
107.	Highest point of the croup of a horse.	مَصَمَّة
108.	The crest, the top of the neck of a horse.	مَعارف
109.	Contracted hoof.	مُعر
110.	The spot where the forelock of a mare touches her head (the bulging part of the forehead.)	مِفْرق رأسها
111.	Coronet of hair above the hoof.	مَقَط الشَعر
112.	Tip of the tail. * ~ (قُمْعَة)	مَمَعة
113.	“Nostrils” of a horse.*	مِنْخَر
114.	Hollow over the eye.	مُوام
115.	“Forelock” *, the sacred tuft of a hair on the forehead of an Arabian horse[10].. See *quṣṣe.*	ناصية
116.	The two sides of the head.	نَداتان
117.	The famous mare of Ḥāriṯ Abū Buğayr. *Naᶜāme* is also the word used for the skin of the head under the fore top of the horse.	نَعامَة
118.	The hollow of the pastern below the fetlock.	نُقَيْرَة
119.	Jaw of a horse.* ~ (حَنَك – soft palate)	هَنَك
120.	Hip. (Pelvis of a horse)* ~ (وَرِك)	وَرْك
121.	The “two hips”.	ورْكَيْن
122.	Hollow over the eye.*	وَقْبَة
123.	Wide (deep) jaws.	يَعيُوب

[10] An angel (according to Bedouin tradition) visits every night the noble horse and, placing his hand on the forelock, blesses the horse and its owner, or curses the owner if he abuses or selfishly treats his animal.

4. Janet C. E. Watson's Collection

Janet C. E. Watson collected data for her English-Arabic lexicon of Cairene horse terminology between 1982-83, December 1984 and March to April 1988, the bulk while she was training race horses at the Heliopolis race track and while she was working as assistant manager and trainer at the Saqqara Arabian Horse Park[11].

The original lexicon is arranged by topics, and a letter next to each words refers to their origin: (E) – Egyptian dialect, (CA) – Classical Arabic. She supplemented these words by the relevant words collected among the Bedouins of North Arabia by Raswan (BRas). Since Raswan's collection is presented above, words belonging to this group have been left out here. Words unmarked are used all over Egypt. Only those terms have been selected from the lexicon, which concern the body parts of the horse.

1.	Point of hock. (E) * (إبْرَة in opinion of Abū ᶜUbayda: point of knee)	إبْرَة العَرقوب
2.	Urethra (CA)*	إحْليل
3.	Ear. (CA)*	أذن، آذان
4.	Coronet. Coronary band (CA)*	أَشْعر
5.	Coronet. Coronary band (CA)*	أطْرَة الحافر
6.	Coronet: coronary band. (E) See also *manbat aš-šaᶜr*.	إكْليل
7.	Poll. (CA)*	أمّ دماغ
8.	Foreleg. (E)	إيد، إدَين، أيادي
9.	Facial crest. (E)	بَرْزَة، بُرْزَة
10.	Facial crest. (E)	بُرور
11.	Belly. *	بَطْن، بُطون
12.	Sole (of hoof). (E)*	بَطْن الحافر
13.	Mouth. (E)	بُقّ
14.	Muzzle (E)	بوُز
15.	Testis. (CA)	بَيضَة، بيْضات
16.	Stifle. (E)	تِفْنَة، تِفَن
17.	Fetlock. (CA)*[12]	ثُنّة، ثُنَن
18.	Face. (E)	جِبْهَة، جِباه
19.	Face. (CA)*	جَبْهَة، جِباه
20.	Wall of hoof. (E)	جِدار الحافر

[11] Cf. Watson 1992:247.

[12] According to Abū ᶜUbayda: hairs on fetlock.

21.	Sheath. (E)	جِراب
22.	Body. (E)*	جَسم، أجسام
23.	Side. (E)	جَنْب، جِناب
24.	The part of the back where the rider sits including the sides; in CA ظَهْر.	جَوز
25.	Withers. (CA)*	حارك، حَوارك
26.	Hoof.*	حافِر، حَوافِر
27.	Wall of hoof. (E)	الحافر من بَرّا
28.	Point of hip. (CA)	حَرْقَفَة، حَراقِف
29.	Mouth. (E)	حَنَك
30.	Muzzle. (E)	حَنَكَة
31.	Coronal bone. (CA)[13] *	حَوشَب
32.	Flank. (CA)[14] *	خاصِرَة
33.	Cheek.* (خَدّ)	خَدّ، خُدود
34.	Muzzle (E)	خَشْم
35.	Loins. (E)	خِصْر
36.	Testicle. (CA) *	خُصْيَة، خُصى
37.	Muzzle (E)	خَطْم
38.	Heel. (CA)*	دابِرَة، دَوابِر
39.	Tail. (E)	دَيل، دُيول
40.	Forearm. (CA) *	ذِراع، أذرُع
41.	Penis. (CA)[15] *	ذَكَر، ذُكور، (نَضيْ، غُرْمول)
42.	Poll. (E)	دِماغ
43.	Tail. (CA) *	ذَنْب، أذْناب
44.	Tail. (CA) *	ذَيْل،ذُيول
45.	Poll. (E)	راس، روس
46.	Head. (E)	راس، روس
47.	Head. (CA) *	رأس، رؤوس
48.	Hind leg. (E)	رِجْل، رُجول
49.	Buttocks. (CA)	رِدْف، أرْداف
50.	Pastern (-joint). (CA) *	رُسْغ، أرْساغ
51.	Crease between testicles and thighs. (CA) *	رُفْغ
52.	Neck. *	رَقَبَة، رَقَبات
53.	Knee.*	رُكَبَة، رُكَبات

[13] According to Abū ᶜUbayda, two bones in the pastern, pastern.

[14] According to Abū ᶜUbayda: loins.

[15] The نَضيْ and غُرْمول mean the male sexual organ as a whole, the penis and testicles together.

54.	Fetlock. (E)	رُمّانَة رَماميم
55.	Ergot. The spur of a cockerel, the similarily-situated excrescence on the foot of a horse (E)	زرّ الرُمانَة
56.	Throat. (E)[16] *	زَوْر، زُوار، إزْوار
57.	Tail and mane hair. (CA)	سَبيب
58.	Navel. (CA)*	سُرّة، سُرَر
59.	Backbone. (E)	سِلسِلة الضَهْر
60.	Stifle. (CA)	سُمُنَة، سَمامِن
61.	Toe of hoof. (CA)*	سُنْبُك، سَنابِك
62.	Tooth.*	سِنّة، سِنان
63.	Flank. (CA)[17] *	شاكِلة
64.	Jaw. (CA) *	شِدْق، أشْداق
65.	Sole (of hoof). (E) *	صَحْن الحافر
66.	Chest. * (~صَدْر)	صِدْر، صُدور
67.	Broad chest. (E)	صِدْر عريض
68.	Broad chest. (E)	صِدْر مَفْتوح
69.	Cheek. * (خَدّ)	صِدْغ، أصْداغ
70.	Scrotum. (CA) *	صَفَن
71.	Backbone. (CA) *	صُلب
72.	Lumbar region. (CA)[18] *	صَهْوَة، صَهَوات
73.	Rib.*	ضِلع، ضُلوع
74.	Back. (E)* (ظَهر)	ضَهْر، ضُهور
75.	Nostril. (E)	طاقة المَنَهير
76.	Crest. (E)	عُرْف
77.	Mane. (CA)*	عُرْف
78.	Hock.[19] *	عَرْقوب، عَراقيب
79.	Ear. (CA)*	عَسيب
80.	Dock. (E)	عَصْعوصَة، عَصايص
81.	Brow-bone.[20] *	عُصْفور، عَصافير
82.	Coronal bone. (E) * (عظم)	العُضْم الإكْليلي
83.	Dock. (CA)*	عُكْوَة
84.	Neck. *	عُنْق
85.	Eye. (CA) *	عَيْن، عُيونُ

[16] According to Abū ᶜUbayda: breast, place of the first six ribs.

[17] According to Abū ᶜUbayda: groins.

[18] According to Abū ᶜUbayda: place of the rider on the horse's back.

[19] According to Abū ᶜUbayda:the hock as a whole with Achilles tendon.

[20] The same meaning at Ibn Sīda, *Muḫaṣṣaṣ*. According to Abū ᶜUbayda it means root of forelock.

86.	Eye. (E)	عِين، عيون
87.	Haunch. (E) * (~ فَخذ)	فَخْد
88.	Vulva. (CA)	فَرْج، فُروج
89.	(Tip of) penis. (CA)	فَيْشَلَة
90.	(Fore) cannon-bone. (E)	قَصْبَة الإيد
91.	(Hind) cannon-bone. (E)	قَصْبَة الرجْل
92.	Croup. (CA) *	قَطاة
93.	Sheath. (CA) *	قُنْب
94.	Forehead. (E)	قَوُرَة، قِوَر، قوَر
95.	Poll. (CA) *	قَوْنَس
96.	Pastern (-joint). (E)	قَيد، قُيود
97.	Withers. (CA) *	كاثِبَة، أكْثاب
98.	Withers. (CA) *	كاهِل، كَواهِل
99.	Shoulder. (CA) *	كَتِف، كَتْف، كِتْف، أكْتاف
100.	Shoulder. (E)	كِتْف، أكْتاف
101.	Shank.	كِراع، أكْرُع
102.	Croup.	كَفَل، أكْفال
103.	Heel. (E)	كَلْوَة، كلاوي
104.	Elbow. (E)	كوُع، كِعان
105.	Breast. (CA) *	لبان
106.	Tongue. *	لِسان، لِسِنَة، أَلِسْنَة
107.	Hind parts. The whole area behind the girth of the horse. (CA) *	مآخِر
108.	Brisket.	مَبْطِن
109.	Girth. (CA) *	مَحْزِم
110.	Cannon-bone. (E)	مَدْفَع، مَدافع
111.	(Hind) cannon-bone. (E)	مَدْفَع وَراني
112.	Elbow. (CA) *	مِرْفَق، مرافِق
113.	Stomach. (E)	مِعْدَة
114.	Mane. (E)	مَعرَفَة، مَعرَفات
115.	Fore parts. The *maqādim* is the whole area to the fore of the girth of the horse. (CA)	مَقادِم
116.	The whole genital area of a mare. (E)	مَناعِم
117.	Coronet: coronary band. (E) See also إكْليل.	مَنْبَت الشعر
118.	Nostril. * (~ منخر)	مِنْخار، مَناخير
119.	Nose. (E)	مَنَخير، أنْف
120.	Withers. (CA) *	مَنْسِج، مناسِج
121.	Vagina, womb. (CA) *	مَهْبَل، مَهابِل
122.	Frog. *	نِسْر، نُسور

123.	Forelock. (CA) *	ناصية، نَواص
124.	Forelock. (E)	نَصْيَة، نَواصي
125.	Neck. *	هادية، هَواد، هاد
126.	Poll. (CA) *	هامَة
127.	Tail hair. (CA) *	هُلْب الذَنَب
128.	Tendon. (E)	وَتْر، أوْتار
129.	Face. (CA) *	وَجْه، وُجوه
130.	Ear. (E)	ودْن، ودان
131.	Hip. (E)	ورْك، وراك، أوْراك
132.	Loins. (E)	وَسْط
133.	Face. (E)	وشّ، وُشوش
134.	Slender part of foreleg. (CA)[21] *	وَظيف، أوْظِفَة
135.	Foreleg. (CA)*	يد، أياد

5. Comparison Between the Classical and the Modern Nomenclature[22]

meaning	Abū ᶜUbayda	Rzewuski	Musil	Raswan	Watson
Ankle, fetlock joint	جُبَّة	قين	مُحَدَّدَة عَذِمَة[23]		
Back	ظَهْر[24] سَراة[25] تَبَج[26] صَهْوَة[27]	ظَهْر[28]	ظَهْر	ظَهْر	ضَهْر ضُهور
Breast	صَدْر جَوْشَن	صَدْر نَحْر زَور[29]	صَدْر مَبْطِن[30]	كَلْكَل مَبْطِن[31]	صِدْر مَبْطِن

[21] According to Abū ᶜUbayda: cannon, shank.

[22] Because of the various Arabic words, this table has been arranged in alphabetical order according to the English meaning. An empty cell means that the term cannot be found in that collection. If the meaning is different, it is mentioned in a footnote.

[23] Back part of ankle.

[24] From the withers to the loins.

[25] From the withers to the dock.

[26] From upper part of croup to the withers, the back as a whole.

[27] Place of rider.

[28] Part of back from the withers to the point of croup.

[29] Upper part of breast.

Cannon	وَظيف	ساق[32]	كُراع[33] ذِراع[34]	طِفَذ ذِراع كِراع	مَدْفَع/ مَدافع قَصْبَة اليَد قَصْبَة الرجل مَدْفعَ وَراني
Chestnut	رَقْمَتان قَمَعَتان		عُفَيْنَة	عُفَيْنَة	زِرّ الرُمانَة
Coronet	إطار أشْعار		مَقَطّ الشعر	مَقَطّ الشَعر	إكْليل مَنْبَت الشعر
Croup	وَرك	كَفَل	وَرْك		كَفَل
Dock	عُكْوَة	عصعص	عُكْرَة الذيْل	عَضَم عُكْرَة الذيْل	عَصْعُوصَة، عَصايص
Elbow	مِرْفَق	مِرْفَق	كوُع	ذِراع	كوُع، كِعان
Forearm	ذِراع	ذِراع		عَضَد	
Forehead	جَبْهَة	جَبْهَة	جَبْهَة	جَبيهَة	قوُرَة، قِوَر
Forelock	ناصية	كولة	قُصَّة	سَبيبَة/ ناصية	نِصْيَة، نَواصي
Frog	نَسْر، نُسور	ضَفادِع	عُفَيْنَة الحافِر	عُفَيْنَة الحافِر	نِسْر، نُسور
Hair of pastern	ثُنَّة، أشْعار	شعَر القين		عَذِمَة عَشعار	رُمّانَة،رَماميم
Heel	دَوابِر إلْيَة	كعب			كَلْوَة، كَلاوي
Hip	خاصِرَة			صَلْب وَرْك، وِرْكيْن	وِرْك، وِراك، أوْراك
Hock, heel; Hock and Achilles tendon together	كعب عُرْقوب	عَرْقوب[35]	عَرْقوب	عَرْقوب عَقْب[36]	عَرْقوب، عَراقيب
Hoof	حافِر	حافِر	حافِر	حافِر	حافِر

[30] Part between the two forelegs, breast.
[31] Lower part of breast. Ibn Sīda, *Muḫaṣṣaṣ*.
[32] Fore cannon.
[33] Hind cannon.
[34] Fore cannon.
[35] Achilles tendon.
[36] Hock, heel.

Lip, muzzle	جَحْفَلَة	عَلَمَة[37]	بُرْطُم[38] عَلَمَة[39]	بُرْطُم فِنْسَة عِلمَة[40]	
Neck	عُنُق	رُقُبَة الكَرْد[41]	رُقُبَة	عَنَف عَنَق رُقْبَة[42]	زَوْر[43] ، زُوار، إزْوار
Pastern	رُسْغ، أرْساغ	مَفْصِل	قين	مُحَدَّدَة رَسَخ	قيد، قُيود
Shoulder	كَتِف مَنْكِب	أكْتاف	حارك[44]	كتاف	كِتْف، أكْتاف
Shoulder, shoulder-blade	كاهِل		حارك	لوح، ألْواح كاهِل الحارك	
Thigh	فَخِذ	أفْحاد[45] زرّ[46]	فَخَذ	أزْفَر[47] فَخَذ[48] ثَفْنَة[49]	فَخْذ[50]
Upper arm	عَضُد			أباهر	
Withers	حارك/كاثِبَة/ مَنْسِج	الحاركة	أباهِر[51]	رَقَبَة	حارك كاثِبَة مَنْسِج

[37] Upper lip.
[38] Upper lip.
[39] Lower lip.
[40] Lower lip.
[41] Part of neck from the breast to the throat.
[42] Side of the neck.
[43] Throat.
[44] Shoulder, shoulder-blade.
[45] Lower thigh.
[46] Upper thigh.
[47] Thigh.
[48] Thigh, hip, backward part.
[49] Lower thigh.
[50] Hip, backward parts, thigh.
[51] Muscles behind the shoulder.

Conclusions

Observing the above comparative table, one can easily notice the following changes:

1. Devoicing e.g. *rusġ-rasaḥ* (pastern);

2. Emphatic interdental ḏ (ظ) /in popular transliteration ẓ/ to emphatic stop ḍ (ض), as can be expected in the Egyptian dialect, cf. "back";

3. Sometimes classical terms can be found in the dialects as well, but with another meaning, e.g. عضد Abū ᶜUbayda "upper arm", Raswan "forearm";

4. Sometimes a classical term can be found in one dialect, but not in the others, or it has a synonym, cf. "forelock";

5. There are cases when the classical metaphoric usage has been changed in a dialect to another metaphor, or it died and a compound expression is used instead, cf. English "frog".

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Edward William Lane 1801-1876. The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist. By Jason Thompson. London: Haus Publishing, 2010. X, 747 pp. ISBN 978 1 906598 72 3

Admirers of the life and achievements of Edward William Lane have long been greatly in debt to Jason Thompson for the services he has rendered to the outstanding English Arabist, from among whose works especially two will never cease to be basic tools on the desk of every student of Arabic culture and Egypt, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* and *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians.* The latter was originally written as part of his magisterial *Description of Egypt* and was published separately for practical and economic reasons. Lane never gave up the hope that the basic *Description of Egypt* would see the light one day; however, it was not to be in the author's lifetime. It was not until 2000 that the book finally came out in printed form (Lane 2000). Of course many people had been aware of the existence of the manuscript, wishing to be able one day to read this *magnum opus,* whose halo had grown to supernatural extents in the meantime: If *The Manners and Customs,* which is only a section of this work, is such an unparallelled miracle, then what treasures can be lingering in the unpublished manuscript of the complete book? I vividly recall my stupefaction when I first learned of the existence of such a work still unpublished. I could hardly believe it was true that nobody had regarded as important to see it through the press. But then Jason Thompson finally did so. It was a great joy to read it but at the same time there was a considerable tinge of sadness in this joy too. Namely, much of it, which would have been pioneering knowledge when it was written, had inevitably become dated in the meantime. Even so it is a most important achievement and an important reference work, the use of which could be incomparably enhanced if the Publisher, the American University in Cairo Press, could be persuaded at last to supply it with *an index, the absence of which is most acutely felt.* It is not late even now! The *Description of Egypt* will remain a basic reference work. An index in a separate booklet or handy fascicle would be even easier to peruse than one placed at the end of a bulky volume[1]. As Jason Thompson tells me, the manuscript of the index is ready.

[1] See Ormos 2001.

Thompson's care also manifested itself in seeing through the press and providing with an expert introduction a reprint of the definitive 1860 version of *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. This was published in 2003. Simultaneously he also published two important articles with sections *omitted* from the published 1860 edition because of strict contemporary Victorian morals (Thompson 1995 and 2006). These sections concern sexuality, bodily functions, personal cleanliness, and similar things that contemporary Victorian society considered unworthy of being mentioned in decent company (Thompson 2010: 379-380). They are most interesting and this reviewer would strongly advise the author to consider adding them – for the benefit of the reader – as an *appendix* to future editions of *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians.* It must be remarked, however, that the English translation of a Latin sentence of central importance concerning the way defloration is executed on the wedding night lacks accuracy in the details – the English translation of this passage is included in the Lane Biography too (Thompson 2010:380-381). It seems that the good Dominican father who assisted Thompson in preparing the Latin translation was not sufficiently familiar with the subject matter, and was deficient in imagination too. However, in view of the simplicity of the Latin of the whole passage it is hard to believe that he should have misunderstood it. Maybe he was so embarrassed by the contents that he offered a relatively decent version instead? In any case, the Latin passage in question and the corresponding English translation adopted by Thompson run – with the problematic part in emphasis:

> *Tum sponsus, omnia sponsae vestimenta, praeter subuculam, detrahit, et si more communi se conformet, non membro virili, sed digito suo* (fimbriâ sponsae subuculae, aut sudarii ex nebulâ lineâ confecti, circumvolutâ) *hymenem perrumpit...*
>
> Then the bridegroom removes all of the bride's clothing, except the shirt, and if he conforms to custom, breaks her hymen not with his virile member but with his finger *(raising up the hem of the bride's shirt, or undershirt made of transparent linen)...* (Thompson 2006:12-13).

The correct translation runs:

> Then the bridegroom removes all of the bride's clothing, except the shirt, and if he conforms to custom, breaks her hymen not with his virile member but with his finger *(with the hem of the bride's undershirt or that of a fine, thin handkerchief wound around [his finger])...*[2]

[2] *Nebula linea* was the equivalent of transparent fabrics, such as "muslin," "gauze," "silk" in New Latin. Thus "A muslin handkerchief" was rendered as *Sudarium ex nebula linea confectum.*

The sense of this seemingly odd procedure is of course that the piece of fine textile gets stained with blood in the course of the operation, which then can be used as a proof of the bride's virginity and be shown to the guests at the wedding party.

Now Jason Thompson has published a detailed biography of Edward William Lane. Although a great admirer of Edward William Lane myself, at first sight I was slightly taken aback by the sheer size of the work (x, 747 pp.; 23 cm) and asked myself if the life and career of this truly outstanding Arabist really deserved such a detailed treatment. Now, having finished reading the book from cover to cover I must admit that my doubts have been dispelled completely. Jason Thompson keeps the reader spellbound from beginning to end: I was practically unable to put the bulky volume down until I finished reading it all.

It is a great asset of the work that the author does not have preconceived *theses* and refrains from *interpreting* his subject at great length – of course there are some efforts at interpretation, especially a brief evaluation of Edward Said's view of Lane and of his achievements. Thompson also deals with an aspect I find particularly annoying in Lane, namely his deep immersion into Egyptian society, accompanied by an ever present detachment. Personally I find it very disturbing that we have to imagine Lane as a person who in every single human interaction with Egyptians was always thinking first and foremost of his future *magnum opus,* considering these persons primarily as informants. I, personally, find this aspect of Lane hardly palatable. However, leaving these aspects beside, we have in our hands a work full of unadulterated data in such plenty that the reader is truly amazed. Thompson follows up every minute of Lane's life as far as records allow him to do so, elucidating details concerning Lane himself but also all his relatives and acquaintances who appear in the course of his long life. And the picture that emerges is truly amazing, throwing light on important aspects of both British and Egyptian societies as well as the nascent world of Oriental studies. The human lives emerging from these pages are spellbinding. In the view of the present reviewer nothing is more fascinating than pure unadulterated data. That is what we have in the present book in plenty. Since many of these data concern the birth of such basic reference works as Lane's *Lexicon* and *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* they help the reader in arriving at a better assessment of the data encountered in them. Other data concern Lane's relatives, friends and acquaintances, such as Stanley Lane Poole

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Nebula linea is attested as "a very thin veil" in Petronius already. In general, *nebula* can denote anything very thin of its kind, e.g., wool, clothes or sheet metal. Ainsworth 1751: Part 1, s.v. "muslin". Cf. Entick 1771: s.vv. "gauz[e]," "muslin". Leverett 1837:562 [*nebula:* anything thin of its kind]. Georges 1913-18:662, 1119. Entick 1822:319.

and Robert Hay for instance, who also played an important role in the "discovery" of Egypt.

The present reviewer is most grateful for the publication of this book. There remains little room for criticism. The book is nicely produced, lends itself to easy reading and misprints are few. The only thing I could perhaps remark is that acknowledging the great importance of Lane's *Lexicon*, Thompson emphasises this aspect perhaps too often. Less would have been more[3]. On the other hand, I am aware that the mere size of the present book seems to have invited the author to do so by offering so many occasions in various contexts, for which he is of course to be pardoned.

As far as the *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache (WKAS)* is concerned, Thompson speaks of "more than half a century of work by *numerous* highly qualified scholars."[4] As a matter of fact, while it is true that numerous outstanding scholars were involved in the *start* of this project, the compilation of the bulky volumes that have appeared so far (the letters *kāf* and *lām*) has been the work of a single person, Manfred Ullmann of Tübingen, as far as I am aware. Thus the whole situation of the birth of this *Wörterbuch* is in a way reminiscent of Lane's compilation of his *Lexicon.*

On p. 90 we read that manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī's *Ḫiṭaṭ* were "quite rare." This statement can hardly be true in this form. In all probability, what is meant here is that it was difficult to obtain or borrow a copy at the time. There are very many manuscripts of the *Ḫiṭaṭ* in existence. So much so, that their number presented itself as a problem when a new critical edition was planned and special solutions had to be found to tackle this problem. The editor, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, managed to locate more than 180 manuscripts, both complete and incomplete, and is thus wholly entitled to speak of "a tremendous and formidable number (*ʿadad hā'il muḫīf*)" in this context[5].

In connection with Bāb Zuwayla Thompson mentions that the "heavy iron gratings on the windows of the Mu'ayyad Mosque were a place of public execution for Christians and Jews" (Thompson 2010:184). It is unlikely that the story of the Jewish money-changer Thompson quotes would refer to this mosque because it is expressly stated in it that Lane "saw the wretched man hanging at a window of a public fountain which forms part of a mosque in the main street of the city" (Thompson 2010:184. Lane 2003:555). This description does not fit

[3] Though see some qualifying remarks on p. 627. For another assessment, rather on the critical side and in an undeservedly severe tone, see Ullmann 2009.

[4] Thompson 2010:691. Italics added.

[5] See his introduction to his new edition of al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* I, 107*. On his editorial technique see his introductions to the various volumes.

the Mu'ayyad Mosque because it does not have a public fountain. Thompson then suggests that the execution may have been located at the Ašrafiyya Mosque because Lane himself tells us elsewhere that "[f]requently criminals are hanged against one of the grated windows of this mosque" (Lane 2000:87. Thompson 2010:185, n. 23). Now, this mosque does in fact have a public fountain with a grated window opening on the [main?] street, although we might object that in this case Lane is speaking of the windows of the mosque and not those of the public fountain. However, one might argue that since the public fountain is part of the mosque one may refer to its window as that of the mosque. We must admit that this possibility cannot be excluded. However, I think the most likely place of execution referred to in this story is the public fountain of the Zāwiya of Farağ ibn Barqūq facing Bāb Zuwayla. The grated windows of this *sabīl* were well-known places of execution in the nineteenth century. Lane himself refers to them too when he says about Bāb Zuwayla that "before this gate, criminals are generally executed" (Lane 2000:76). In addition, the use of "main street" is more appropriate in the case of this Zāwiya. The sabīl has in fact *two* grated windows. In all probability, the northern window facing Bāb Zuwayla was used for execution because the aim was to achieve as great publicity as possible in order to deter people from committing crimes. This window was an "ideal" place of execution from this point of view because owing to its location in the axis of Bāb Zuwayla everybody passing along the main thoroughfare [Lane's "main street"] of medieval Cairo in North-South direction had to face the corpse and change direction abruptly, i.e. turn left, in closest proximity. When assessing the impact a hanging corpse made upon passers-by we must not forget that in the nineteenth century the sabīl was much closer to Bāb Zuwayla than it is now: when Taḥt ar-Rabᶜ street was widened in order to facilitate road traffic the Zāwiya was moved to its present location in 1922-23[6]. On the other hand, Bāb Zuwayla itself is also known to have been a well-known place of execution, where the last Mamlūk ruler, Ṭūmān Bāy, had also been executed after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517. In the case of Bāb Zuwayla the persons to be executed were hanged in the dome of the passageway[7]. This appears clearly in the account of Ṭūmān Bāy's execution in the *Badā'iᶜ az-zuhūr* of Ibn Iyās: when Ṭūmān Bāy was lifted from the ground the rope tore and he fell on the *threshold of Bāb Zuwayla* (*ᶜatabat Bāb Zuwayla*). In fact the rope tore twice and he fell to the ground both times. So finally he was strangled. Now *ᶜataba* (threshold) is the

[6] Cf. as-Sayyed 1920-24:397-399. See also the enclosed plan of the area *ibid. (Mosquée de Farag ibn Barqoûq et ses alentours. – Caire. – Plan).*

[7] Cf. Herz 1900/1905:278. Rhoné 1910:44-45. (Rhoné maintains that Ṭūmān Bāy was hanged on the *sabīl* of the Zāwiya of Farağ ibn Barqūq, which is not true.) Wiet [1937]: 636. Ormos 2009:449-450.

part of a door "upon which one treads," that is the bottom of the doorway. Consequently, the hanging must have taken place in the dome of the passageway[8].

I hear that now Jason Thompson is planning to write a similar biography of Richard Burton. I am looking forward with great interest to its publication. I wish he could be persuaded to retain his highly laudable method followed in the present work, namely the presentation of as many detailed data as possible.

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[8] Ibn Iyās: *Badā'iᶜ* V, 172[18]-173[1]. On *ᶜataba,* see Amīn & Ibrāhīm 1990:80, Lane: 1863-93:1944. *Webster* 1957:434 "doorway", 1519 "threshold". Ching 1995:63 "door / sill / threshold". Abd-El-Gawad 1985:221 (no. 1221/b; s.v. *ᶜataba*–b).

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István Ormos

REVIEWS

Untersuchungen zur arabischen Überlieferung der Materia medica *des Dioskurides.* By Manfred Ullmann. *Mit Beiträgen von Rainer Degen.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009. 378 pp. ISBN 978 3 447 06057 8.

The work Περὶ ὕλης [ἰατρικῆς] known as [*De*] *Materia Medica* by Dioscurides, who lived under Nero's rule (54-68 AD), enjoyed unparallelled and uncontested popularity not only in Late Antiquity but also in the Arab-Islamic world. The history of the Greek text as well as that of its translations into Latin, Syriac and Arabic is highly complex. This is partly owing to its great popularity as well as wide dissemination, and partly to the circumstance that it is composed of differing sections many of which are only loosely connected to each other thematically and are thus likely to be transmitted independently[1]. In addition, in order to serve practical needs, these sections were often supplemented with quotations from other works. Again, led by practical viewpoints, the body of the work was subjected to different arrangements in the course of centuries. These circumstances complicate things considerably and increase confusion. Owing to the complex nature of the work and the disparate strands of transmission, which on their part often exert influence on each other and therefore result in considerable contaminations, earlier investigations, based on insufficient acquaintance with the original sources, have created much confusion. Relevant scholarly literature dealing with all the various aspects of Dioscurides' work is immense, too, which confronts the researcher with a task of truly gigantic proportions. Only an eye with the capability of discerning significant facts and of separating important data from the bulk of unimportant phenomena can attempt such a task with any hope of success. In the present case this rare condition seems to have been fulfilled and the author of the reviewed work shows himself so equipped. He has carried out a series of textual researches mainly based on manuscripts and succeeded in elucidating and solving a number of interesting problems. At the same time his groundbreaking results will serve as points of departure for future generations of researchers.

Ullmann differentiates altogether 5 translations. Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl's translation of the work from Greek into Arabic in Baghdad under Ǧaᶜfar al-Mutawakkil

[1] The Syriac translation, on which two Arabic versions are based, does not survive.

(ruled 232-247/847-861) was not revised later by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, as is usually believed. A Paris manuscript of Iṣṭifān's translation contains on the margin a great number of remarks by the translator himself and also by Ḥunayn offering significant insights into the working method of these translators. Ullmann has discovered a previously unknown Arabic translation of the work in an Istanbul manuscript (Aya Sofya 3704) and calls it *Vetus Translatio* (c. 800 AD). It was used by ᶜAlī ibn Rabbān aṭ-Ṭabarī in his *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* and by al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaydana*. In the 10th century Avicenna's teacher, al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm an-Nātilī, contaminated this version with Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl's translation in Buḫārā, Transoxania. In addition to giving a succinct examination of their most important characteristics, Ullmann adduced the translations made by Abū Sālim al-Malaṭī as well as Mihrān ibn Manṣūr on the basis of Ḥunayn's Syriac version for the comparative examination encompassing altogether 5 versions. Ullmann gleaned remarkable technical terms from Mihrān's translation, too. He treated these versions synoptically, so to say, and also carefully compared them with the Greek original surviving in various manuscripts. In this way he was able to discover and make accessible a rich collection of previously unfamiliar Arabic technical terms which supplement the material contained in his *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache* (1957/1970-) and in his *Wörterbuch der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts* (2002-2007). At the same time, significant conclusions could be drawn with regard to the textual criticism of the Greek original in view of the fact that the Arabic versions are based on manuscripts which are older than the Greek manuscripts from which the Greek original text accessible to us is derived.

The work contains a wealth of data derived from primary research based on manuscripts. These data concern details of the Arabic transmission of the work, such as Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl's translation, characteristics of various Arabic manuscripts, the Greek text used by Iṣṭifān, his glosses to his own translation and a succinct characterisation of his translation and achievement, Ḥunayn's glosses to Iṣṭifān's translation, the process in which the Greek names of plants and drugs were determined. The author gives a characterisation of the *Vetus Translatio* (see above) demonstrating it on forty example texts compared with the Greek original and parallel translations. Ullmann comes to the conclusion that four different stages can be differentiated in the development of the original text, the first of which took place within the Greek tradition. A 147-page glossary rounds off the presentation of the *Vetus Translatio*.

Much of this is entirely new and the result of recent research carried out by the author, apparently in connection with his work on the *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache* and the *Wörterbuch der griechisch-arabischen*

Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts[2]. The present reviewer feels compelled to acknowledge his amazement at the facility with which the author tackles this immense and highly complex material with a quick and secure eye capable of a synoptic grasp of all the different and at the same time intertwined main and lateral strands of transmission. The many questions of details discussed on the pages of the present work are a mine of new insights on which subsequent research on the history of the Greek original of Dioscurides' *Materia Medica* as well as that of its Arabic translations will be based.

The profit that readers will derive from this truly magnificent work could have been considerably enhanced had a soft-copy version on a CD-ROM been attached to the printed edition. This method of presentation is quite common nowadays and has great advantages over traditional printed editions. Few readers, and the present reviewer is certainly *not* one of them, will want to read such a reference work on a computer screen. There is nothing wrong with an autograph-edition. The author's handwriting is clear, beautiful, lending itself to very pleasant reading. After the perplexity and stupefaction which Ullmann's autograph-editions had elicited in recent times, readers have got accustomed to this new trend. It must be made clear, however, that a CD-ROM version has the incomparable advantage that the whole work in question *can be searched* for words, combinations of words and expressions. And the very nature of the present *Untersuchungen* would make such a presentation – printed book *plus* CD-ROM – imperative. After all, this publication is not a novel one would read from cover to cover once in a lifetime but a reference work in which readers will want, among other uses, to look up words and expressions[3]. It is a pity that neither the author nor the publisher seems to have recognised the significance of using a computer to maximise the profit to be derived from such an important work. However, we must be grateful for what we have and it is no doubt a great work of exceptional learning.

István Ormos

[2] Our earlier state of knowledge of this subject was summarized by Ullmann in 1970 in his concise account of the history of medicine in Islam: *Die Medizin in Islam.* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Erste Abteilung, Ergänzungsband VI, Erster Abschnitt). Leiden–Cologne, 1970, 257-263.

[3] This consideration is also valid for the *Wörterbuch der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts*. One would of course love to possess *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache* on CD-ROM too but it must be acknowledged that work on it was begun long before the computer era. But maybe one day a generous benefactor of scholarship will fund such a project. No doubt he will earn the gratitude of the commonwealth of scholars active in the field of Arab and Islamic studies.

Autochthonous Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tiberias. By Aharon Geva Kleinberger. (*Semitica Viva,* ed. by Otto Jastrow, 46.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006. ix, 229 pp. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN 978-3-447-05934-3.

The present work is the continuation of the study of Arabic dialects in Northern Israel by the author and is based on interviews conducted with Arabic speaking Jews in Tiberias who have been speaking this Arabic dialect as their mother tongue. Their number, however, is decreasing continuously and there are now, according to the author's estimation, not more than a hundred speakers left in Lower Galilee. The book aims at being not only a dialectological study but a historical, sociological and anthropological description of the speakers of the above mentioned dialect as well. The book contains two parts. The first and shorter part of 25 pages, gives a brief account of the Arabic dialect of the Jews in Tiberias, the second part of 165 pages presents the texts told by the chosen informants. The texts are chosen to reflect a wide spectrum of themes from the various periods of the Ottoman rule, the British mandate and the independent Israel, too. The Arabic texts occupy the left pages while their English translations are put on the opposite pages. Each text is given a title according to its main topic. Just to mention some of them: There are texts dealing with diseases and epidemics (cholera, scarlet), some are about natural disasters (flood, earthquake), some others deal with historical events (the British Army entering Tiberias, an Arab strike, mobilization of the Ottoman Army, riots in different years), still further texts concentrate on everyday family life or work, some take the natural environment as their theme (the Sea of Galilee, the sea life, the catfish), and there are texts telling stories about the neighbours of the Jewish community. There are some proverbs, too. The appendices contain an Arabic vocabulary of the Jews of Tiberias on 12 pages, and an index of the people mentioned in the texts, on 7 pages. The texts in this book may serve as an excellent rough material for the researchers of different fields of study. As the author notes: "... the texts in this book ... provide extensive data on the life of the Jews of Galilee and other historical events and anthropological details; they thereby rescue this mass of data from oblivion. ... such data could not be attained in other ways because it is not history based on written documents." It is the quantity of the texts that makes this book so extraordinarily precious and interesting.

Kinga Dévényi

Early Ibāḍī Literature. Abu l-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb Kitāb al-Raṣf fī l-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Muḥāraba and Sīr*a*. Introduced and edited by Abdulrahman al-Salimi and Wilferd Madelung. (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ed. by Florian C. Reiter, 75). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011. xi, 80 p. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-06435-4

This volume contains three Arabic treatises by Abū (and not Abu, as in the title) l-Munḏir Bašīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, an Omani Ibāḍite religious scholar who lived in the third century of the Islamic era. All the three are first editions and, as the Introduction says, were hitherto unknown to Western scholars. One can only sympathize with this kind of remarks since in the past Western Arabists have considered their knowledge too many times absolute. With this edition a significant new source has become available for the study of early Ibāḍite thought. Abū l-Munḏir (died around 290/908) was a prominent Ibāḍite author of theological and legal books. As the Introduction states his writings reflect expert knowledge of Ibāḍite religious law and an inclination to the so called rationalist (Muᶜtazilite) theology in contrast to the traditional Ibāḍite scholarship.

The first of the three treatises, the *Kitāb al-Raṣf* is a compendium of Muᶜtazilite theology from an Ibāḍite point of view. The text may have consisted originally of lectures presented over a period of time and then collected and abridged by a student of the author. The *Kitāb al-Muḥāraba* deals with the law of warfare. The writer distinguishes between the rules applying to the fight against the idolators, the unbelievers of the People of the Book, and the apostates from Islam. The *Sīra* presents Abū l-Munḏir's formal legal opinion concerning the abdication of the Imām aṣ-Ṣalt b. Mālik al-Ḥarūsī forced by an armed revolt. The revolt caused a split in the Ibāḍite community and the dispute led to mutual and obligatory dissociation. The author affirms that a legitimately installed Imām cannot be deposed except on three grounds: physical disability to perform one of the religious duties of the Imām, incurrence of a divinely ordained punishment, or refusal to repent a religious offence known by the public. These roughly correspond to the prescriptions concerning the deposition of the Imām (or Caliph) discussed by the Sunnite theologians in the 11th century, only they add the forced absence of the Imām from the centre of power or his captivity.

The edition of each of the texts was based on four manuscripts kept in three private libraries in Oman. As the editors emphasize, all four manuscripts (and a fifth, not considered during the editorial work) are late and corrupt in many places. The frequent appearance of the same mistakes in all of them indicates that they derive from a single original. The editors follow the dubious way of making a fifth text out of four and not even telling the reader which of the readings owe their existence to the editors, or which of the proposed emendations

"were straightforward" and which were those "remaining speculative without much hope that the original text could be fully restored", according to the wording of the Introduction. In the case of the present volume the persons of the editors ensures the validity of the readings – Professor Madelung being the best recognized authority of the Imāmite and Ibāḍite theology and al-Salimi being an Ibāḍite scholar –, but the principle of edition inherited from the 19th century does not seem reader and researcher friendly nowadays.

Kinga Dévényi

High vs. Low and Mixed Varieties: Status, Norms and Functions across Time and Languages. Ed. by Gunvor Mejdell & Lutz Edzard. (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, im Auftrag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft hrsg. von Florian C. Reiter, 77.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. 210 p. ISSN 0567-4980, ISBN 978-3-447-06696-9

The volume under review is based on papers delivered at the "Oslo Workshop on High and Low varieties, diglossia, and language contact: linguistic products and social processes", held on June 14-15, 2010 at the University of Oslo. Naturally the size of the articles does not allow for the presentation of new findings. Instead, they are state of the arts reports of different linguistic areas in and outside Europe.

The reviewer feels first of all obliged to thank the editors for undertaking the unique task of presenting such a wide range of studies in the sphere of diglossia and related matters in many different languages. Gunvor Mejdell's article opens the collection and its long title of which nearly sums up its content: "'High' and 'Low' varieties, diglossia, language contact, and mixing: social processes and linguistic products in a comparative perspective". She aims at presenting a point of departure for the whole volume in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics and engaging "in a kind of multiple dialog with the other contributors in this volume." The paper deals with subsections such as diglossia and a typology of language situations, Middle Arabic and diglossia in Semitic, mixed varieties in bilingual and multilingual contexts, contemporary case of mixing and diffuse borders. In her concluding remarks she rightly states that "all the contributors in this volume challenge simplistic views of clear cut dichotomies, discrete and stable varieties, and unchanging status and functional domains."

As Gunvor Mejdell remarks it was Charles Ferguson who first described a specific kind of language situation by the term 'diglossia', giving a narrow definition which distinguishes it from both the 'standard with dialects' and the bilin-

gual situations. Later, however, it has become evident that the basic dichotomy of 'High' and 'Low' proves too simplified compared with the real complexity of language performance and it is reflected in the use of the expression 'mixed varieties'. The first to direct attention to this phenomenon of the Arabic language usage in detail was the Egyptian linguist as-Saᶜīd Muḥammad Badawī in his book *Mustawayāt al-ᶜarabiyya al-muᶜāṣira fī Miṣr*, published in 1973 in Cairo. It is only to be regretted that this book is quite unfortunately lacking in the bibliographical references of all papers of this volume dealing with Arabic, a fact which shows the unbridgeable gap between the Arab and Western scholarship and the absence of interest of Arabists in the scientific products of the contemporary Arab scholars. Even Jérôme Lentin, who intends to give a broad panorama of the Arabic linguistic situation ("Reflections on Middle Arabic") seems to be uninterested in or unacquainted with not only Badawī's above mentioned book but practically the whole modern Arab linguistic literature, mentioning only one among them (Aḥmad 1993).

Ernst Håkon Jahr's paper "'High' and 'Low' in Norwegian? Dialect and standard in spoken Norwegian – a historical account of competition and language status planning" proved to be the most interesting paper for the reviewer, although its title and contents contradict the principles announced in the introductory chapter of Gunvor Mejdell, who dismisses, as stated above, the standard vs. dialect model as part of the diglossia situation. Be as it is, the truth is that while "many people know that there is something special about Norway linguistically or, rather, sociolinguistically" as Jahr states in the beginning of his paper, many more know almost nothing about this particular situation and for them an extraordinarily good picture is painted of the Norwegian language model and its historical development.

There is another 'rarity' among the papers. It is Tore Janson's "Vulgar Latin and Middle Arabic", in which he draws a parallel between the two seemingly different linguistic situations, shedding in this way new light on both. The author sums up the history of the denomination "Vulgar" used in connection with the Latin language, of which he is an expert, and compares the situation existing in the domain of late Latin language with the so called Middle Arabic. The value of this work is decreased by the fact that the author, as he confesses (p. 28), knows no Arabic at all and his knowledge of the discussion in this field is quite limited. There is one statement of the author which connects more than any other things the Vulgar Latin studies with those pursued in the field of Middle Arabic: "What Herman – the Hungarian 'father' of the term Vulgar Latin – describes is not a language, but a number of features of the spoken language in the Latin/Romance area before the advent of the written Romance languages." This can be stated with respect to Middle Arabic as well – substituting Joshua

Blau, also of Hungarian origin, for Herman and leaving out the final part of the sentence, because the advent of the written Arabic dialects did not, and perhaps will not for a long time, happen.

Jérôme Lentin presents quite a different type of paper in his "Reflections on Middle Arabic", summing up his long term research in only thirty pages in a way that gives an overall picture of the problems connected with the so called Middle Arabic linguistic situation. The author points out an entirely new development in this field of studies. This is the combination of the Middle Arabic and the diglossia which seems to be more fruitful than any other previous research trend. At the same time I have to agree with Lentin in that "unfortunately, for several reasons (among which blind purism), this field of research has not received due attention from many scholars, and has not been sufficiently investigated. Some studies have been published on single texts (or sometimes on individual authors) but only a few monographic works deal with bodies of texts belonging to a definite period of time and/or coming from a particular area." This last statement seems to me the most important part of the whole sentence, because it sheds light on the weakest point of Middle Arabic studies so far – the lack of age and territory as if the underlying Arabic dialects were uniform regardless of time and place. Lentin is right to involve into the study of Arabic linguistic variation the so called "Artistic Colloquial" middle language. He mentions here only the products of the authorless popular literature, but I think we may as well include here the enormous quantity of television and radio serials, film scripts and theatrical pieces written mainly in Egypt in an elevated variant of the dialect. There is no sense to stop at the age of the *nahḍa* as most of the scholars dealing with Middle Arabic and mixed variants do.

The other papers in this volume are: "Arabe(s) et berbère en Mauritanie: Bilinguisme, diglossie et mixité linguistique" by Catherine Taine-Cheikh, "Elements of diglossia in Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew" by Lutz Edzard, "Prestige register vs. common speech in Ottoman Turkish" by Bernt Brendemoen, "Hindi bilingualism and related matters" by Claus Peter Zoller, "Romance glosses in a Latin text: evidence of diglossia?" by Kristin F. Hagemann, "Macaronic texts in the early Irish tradition" by Jan Erik Rekdal, and "Czech code mixing 1990-2010: From domain specialization toward graded register" by Karen Gammelgaard.

Kinga Dévényi

Texte im arabischen Beduinendialekt der Region Douz (Südtunesien). By Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun. (*Semitica Viva*, ed. by Otto Jastrow, 46). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011. 554 p., 15 Abb. ISSN 0931-2811 ISBN 978-3-447-06530-6

The book under review contains an admiringly vast number of orally recorded texts in about 240 pages in the Southern Tunisian Bedouin dialect of the Dūz region, together with a similar amount of pages with the German translations. The Introductory chapters are, on the contrary, too brief to help the reader to appreciate the texts. It has a geographic description of the region in 14 pages with only 7 pages of a linguistic or grammatical description which is astonishing. Between the two sub-chapters there is a state of the art summary called "Forschungsstand" in one page about the Tunisian dialectology. At the end of the book there is a glossary of difficult words not translated in the texts but interpreted here in 7 pages. The bibliography unnecessarily fills 16 pages with many items not referred to in the volume.

Many problems and questions arise during the reading of this book. One of the major problems is connected to the inconsistencies of the transcription. It is stated in the Introduction (4. "Transkription") that the author used what she called a "morphophonemisches Transkriptionssystem" (whatever it means in practice) "um die morphologische Zusammenhörigkeit von Lexemen sichtbar zu erhalten". However, even this very obscure principle has not been adhered to. Some words are transcribed according to their supposed original lexeme (to wit, *mā, kān*), some others are transcribed according to their actual pronunciation (e.g., *ʾdžī*). A good example for this is the case of the genitive construction with *mtāᶜ*. On p. 202, no. 5. it is written as *ntāḥ* in the word *ntāḥḥum* giving the actual pronunciation instead of retaining the morphophonological constituents (from *ntāᶜ*?/*mtāᶜ*? + *hum*), whereas, for example, on p. 258, no. 8 it is given as *ʾmtāᶜ*. Without a somewhat detailed explanation one cannot accommodate the co-occurrence of *mtāᶜ* and *ntāᶜ*.

In other places the translation is based on the superficial understanding of the structure of the phrase. E.g., pp. 502-3, no. 1: "*yūldu l-miᶜza nxallōhum līl yakʾbṛu*" = "Wenn (die Ziegen) Nachwuchs bekommen, behalten wir sie, bis sie groß werden." The verb *ḫall(a)*, however, generally serves as an auxiliary verb in the meaning "to let". A transcribed text naturally cannot be without errors but if one and the same grammatically important particle is written in two variants it is difficult to find out which of them is the right one in lack of a concise grammar of acceptable size in the book: p. 502, l. 1 "*līl yakʾbṛu*" and l. 2: "*lil yakʾbṛu*". It is also difficult to understand, why the insertion of an automatic ultra brief vowel seemed to be necessary between two consonants in word final pausal position (*kalʾb*) – it being the rule of almost all Bedouin dialects, East and West, not to allow a two consonant closure –, while at the same time doubled consonants re-

mained written even before a third consonant which cannot be pronounced in this way (*ᵊnsaddru*). However, she does not seem to adhere to her rules, and writes *mā-ᶜādš* in pause (p. 258, no. 9) instead of *mā-ᶜādᵊš*. Alongside *ᵊnsaddru* we also encounter *tᶦbaddᶦlat* (p. 132, no. 26). She gives the form *w-ᶜaddᶦmōha* (p. 136, no. 12) alongside *mġammða* (p. 134, no. 9). One has a feeling of uncertainty because with the various forms it is difficult to glean the rules, since one cannot know for certain whether in a given form a certain rule is being followed or the actual pronunciation.

One could list a great number of further problems and errors along the same lines. In my view the use of a simple term "morphophonological transcription system" cannot substitute a more refined, well considered and logical transcription. The lack of marking the emphasis and the preservation of the lexical length of the vowels in all environments also cause great problems in interpreting the linguistic data. That is why one cannot use these texts as a linguistic estimation of the Southern Tunisian Bedouin dialects till the publishing of an accompanying grammar book promised in the Introduction, and one can only hope that this grammar will soon see the light. Until then the German translations can be used on their own as an anthropological collection.

Kinga Dévényi

Abū Nuwās in Übersetzung. Eine Stellensammlung zu Abū Nuwās-Übersetzungen vornehmlich in europäische Sprachen. By Ewald Wagner. (*Arabische Studien*, ed. Hartmut Bobzin and Tilman Seidensticker, 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012. 218 p. ISSN 1860-5117, ISBN 978-3-447-06638-9

Ewald Wagner, the well known and recognized editor of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās in its entirety, as a culmination of his lifelong research in the poetry of this ᶜAbbāsid poet compiled a comprehensive collection of the translations of his poems in 32 different languages. He does not only give the data of appearances but also the original titles of the translated poems which is not an easy task considering the sometimes fundamental changes the translators made in the meaning of the Arabic text. He arranged the translations according to his five volume edition of the Arabic text, giving not only the data of the translated poem and the translation but also telling whether the translation is complete or only partial. This book is an indispensible tool to the European cultural history and to the estimation of how Arabic literature has become known in the world during the centuries.

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